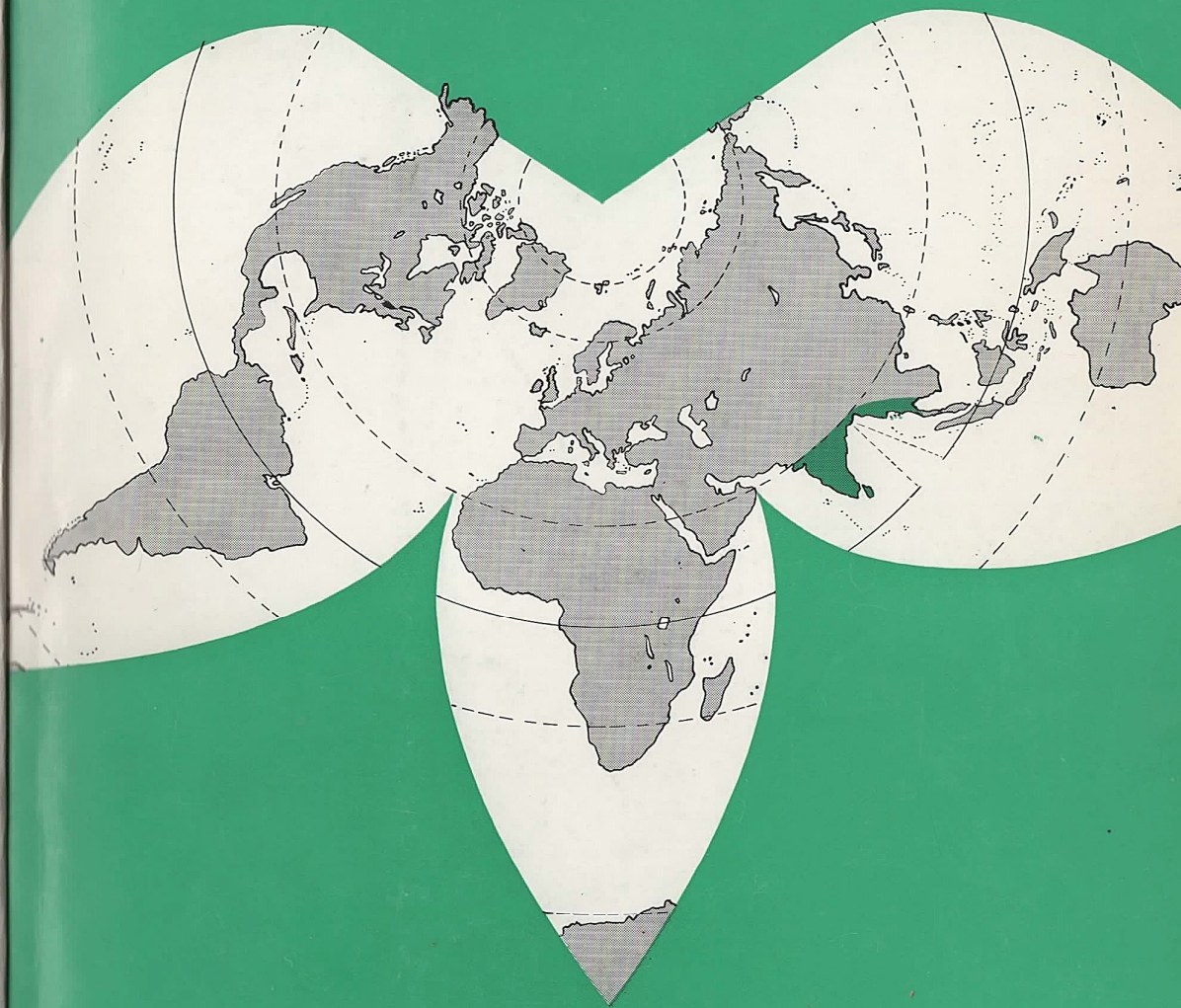


THE SPREAD OF PRINTING

EDITED BY COLIN CLAIR



EASTERN HEMISPHERE

THE SPREAD OF PRINTING

EDITED BY COLIN CLAIR

*India, Pakistan, Ceylon,
Burma and Thailand*

INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON, BURMA
AND THAILAND

THE SPREAD OF PRINTING

EASTERN HEMISPHERE

India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand

by

DENNIS E. RHODES

161

1969

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Contents

EARLY PRINTING IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

1. Printing in India before 1775	11
2. Printing in Bengal from 1778 to the Early Nineteenth Century	21
3. Early Printing at Madras	33
4. Early Printing in Bombay	41
5. Early Printing in the Smaller Centres	47
6. Early Printing in Assam	61

PRINTING IN CEYLON

Ceylon under Dutch Rule	67
Ceylon under the British	73

PRINTING IN BURMA

EARLY PRINTING IN THAILAND

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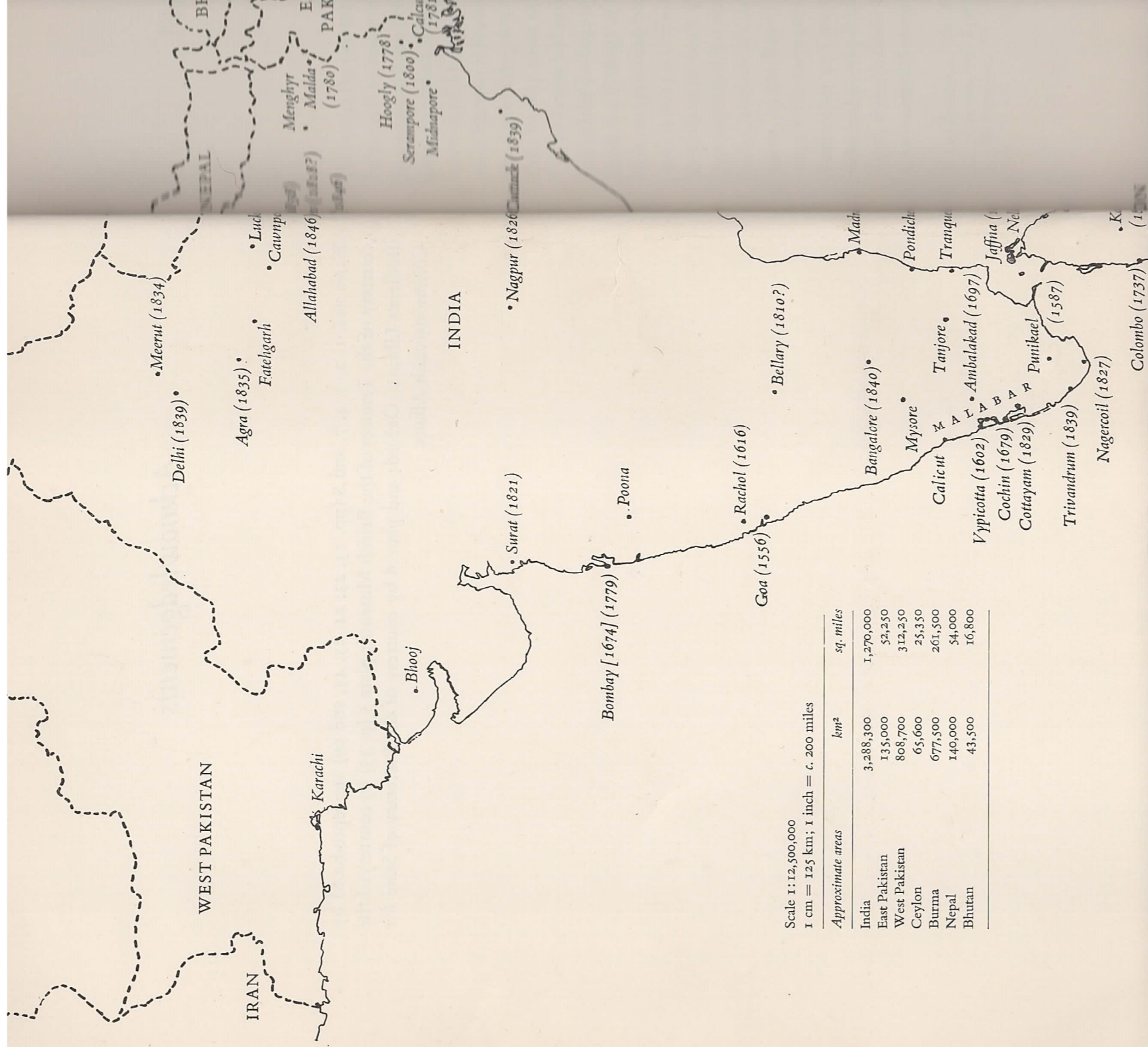
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TIBET

CHINA

Meerut (1834)
(1839)

Agra (1835)

Fatehgarh

Lucknow
Cawnpore

Allahabad (1846)

Menghyr

Malda

(1818?)
(1846)

PAKISTAN

Hoogly (1778)

Serampore (1800)

Midnapore

Calcutta

(1781)

INDIA

Nagpur (1826)
Cuttack (1839)

Sadiya (1837)

Jaipur (1839)

BHUTAN
Sibsagor (1848)

ASSAM

BURMA

Rangoon
(1816)

Moulmein (1830)

THAILAND

Tavoy (1843)

Bangkok (1836)

Bellary (1810?)

Mysore (1840)

Mysore

Tanjore

Pondicher

Tranque

Jaffna (1810)

Nellai

Punikael

(1587)

Trercoil (1827)

K...

Printing in India before 1775

Although the present work deals in detail only with books printed in English, it will be as well to summarize what had happened in the bibliographical field in other languages in India before the first English imprint appeared. 'In 1577, the Society of Jesus published at Cochin the first book printed in India,' stated the *Mangalore Magazine* for Christmas, 1900. This manifestly untrue pronouncement is interesting if only because it shows that there was in 1900 general ignorance of the activities and products of the press at Goa. For in fact the first book printed in India appeared more than twenty years earlier, in the late months of 1556.

The Jesuits had arrived in Goa about 1535 and had about 1542 taken over and renamed the College of Santa Fé, originally a Franciscan foundation, calling it henceforth the College of St. Paul. The article written by Leo Proserpio in 1935 asserts that two printing-presses which the Jesuits imported from Europe actually arrived at Goa in 1550, fifty-two years after Vasco da Gama had first set foot on Indian soil at Calicut in 1498. Proserpio then admits that he knows of no book which these presses turned out until seven years later, in 1557, when he says that St. Francis Xavier's *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* was the first Indian-printed book.¹ He was mistaken, as the Rev. J. B. Primrose conclusively demonstrated four years later, in 1939.² The facts are that the first press (or perhaps presses) arrived and was set up in September or October 1556, the Portuguese printer being João de Bustamente, who had a competent Indian assistant whose name is unknown. By November 6th., 1556, there is documentary proof that the first book had been printed: it was the *Conclusões* of Antonio de Quadros, who was Professor of Philosophy in the College

1. Leo Proserpio, 'The First Printing-presses in India', *The New Review*, published by Macmillan & Co., Calcutta, vol. II, no. 10, October 1935, pp. 321-330.

2. J. B. Primrose, 'The First Press in India and its Printers', *The Library*, December 1939, pp. 241-265.

of St. Paul from 1556 to 1559 and died in 1572. No copy of the first book can be traced today. Possibly other books were printed before the second book with a known title appeared at Goa in 1557. This was the *Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, in the Portuguese language, compiled by the most famous of the Jesuit missionaries, Francis (afterwards Saint Francis) Xavier, himself a Spaniard, born in 1506, who died in China in 1552 and is buried at Goa. In 1541 the Viceroy of Goa, John de Castro, had been ordered by John III, King of Portugal, to open elementary schools in all the villages in Goa where there were Christian families, and so the new Catechism was designed for the instruction of the Christian youth in the area. A book by Dom Gaspar de Leão, Archbishop of Goa, entitled *Compendio spritual da vida Christãa*, completed at Goa on 2 July 1561, is known from a copy in the New York Public Library. Its printers were João Quinquencio and João de Endem, who were evidently the successors of João de Bustamente. The only book of the sixteenth century printed at Goa which is now in the British Museum is Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas he cousas mediçinais da India*, printed by João de Endem alone and completed on 10 April 1563: there is also a copy in Cambridge University Library.

The first press ceased working in 1573, and a new one began, though not until 1616 at Rachol, near Goa, in the College of St. Ignatius. This continued working until 1668. There is evidence also of a third press in the New College of St. Paul in 1642 and 1643.

The Rev. Primrose gives a list of nine books known or believed to have been printed at the first press in Goa between October 1556 and 1573. Professor Boxer has now published his 'tentative checklist' of Indo-Portuguese imprints from 1556 to 1674, which contains thirty-seven titles.¹

Of these one was printed at Coulam (Koule) in 1578, one at Cochin in 1579, one at Punical (Punikael) in 1587, and all the rest at Goa or Rachol. No copy is known to survive of the first five items (1556-60) or of three others, including the first Rachol imprint of 1616.

Professor Boxer is not concerned with Vypicotta, presumably because the books printed there were not in Portuguese. Since publishing his list he has discovered one

1. C. R. Boxer, 'A Tentative Check-list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints, 1556-1674', *Separata do Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, no. 73, Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, Goa, 1956. The offprint has 23 pages of text and 14 reproductions of title-pages or colophons.

COLOQVIO PRIMEIRO, EM QUE

SE INTRODVZE HO DOCTOR RVANO, muito conhecido do autor em Salamanca e em Alcala, ho qual vem a India com hum seu cunhado que he feitor de hũa naoo, e nam vem qua por mais que por saber das mezinhas da India, e de todolos outros simples q̃ nella ha, e como chegou à Goa, e ouuio nomear o Autor, conhecendose ambos vay poustar com elle, e decraralhe sua entençam, e o Autor lhe responde.

INTERLOCVTORES

Orta, Ruano.



POIS que ja temos praticado na vida que fizestes depois que nos apartamos do estudo, e por que causa viestes à India, seraa razão que me digais se ha algũa cousa em que vos eu possa servir: porque desdagora me aperceberey pera isso.

RVANO. Saiba que posto q̃ vim qua porq̃ tenho parte nesta naoo em que veo meu cunhado por feitor, bem pudéra escutar com a sua vinda delle, a minha à esta terra: mas porque tenho grãde desejo de saber das drogas medicinais (as que chamão là em Portugal de botica) e destoutras mezinhas simples q̃ qua ha, ou frutas todas, e da pimenta, das quais cousas queria saber os nomes em todas as lingoas assi das terras donde nascem, e dos aruores ou prantas q̃ as crião: e assi queria saber como vsão dellas os fílicos Indianos, e tambem queria saber dalgũas

A

more book printed at Rachol in 1629 or 1630: there is a copy of this in the British Museum.¹

Twenty years after the initiation of the press at Goa, another was opened further south in Malabar by a Spanish lay-brother of the Society of Jesus, John Gonsalves, who for the first time cast a set of types in a local language, Malayalam, with which he printed a translation of St. Francis Xavier's *Catechism* in 1577. This translation was most probably the work of another Spanish missionary, Father Enrique Enriquez. Dispute has continued for many years over the question whether this press was located at Vypicotta or at Cochin, but general opinion has now decided that it was at Cochin. It is doubtful whether this press printed more than two books, those of 1577 and 1579. The story of Cochin printing needs further research, which is made more difficult than usual by the extreme rarity of the books. x x ✓

The next place to witness the installation of a press was the village of Punikael, near Tinnevely, about twenty miles from Cape Comorin in the extreme south of India. In 1587 Father John de Faria engraved and cast types of Tamil letters with which he printed the *Flos Sanctorum*, a Christian Doctrine, a copious Confessionary and other books.² x

At Vypicotta, near Cranganore, the Jesuits opened a mission station in 1580 and established a college in 1587. They were asked to co-operate in the reform of the Syrian liturgical books used in Malabar, and Pope Clement VIII sent them a press with Chaldean types. This press was set up in 1602, and the first book printed at Vypicotta was a literal translation of the Roman Ceremonial and of the Exorcisms and Blessings contained in the Missal. The Syrian Missal and Breviary were next printed. These books were written in Syriac (or Chaldean) with notes in Malayalam printed in Syriac script.

1. This is: Marcos Jorge, S.J., *Doctrina Christam ordenada a maneira de dialogo, para ensinar os meninos... Acrescentada pello Padre Ignacio Martins, etc.* Imprego no Collegio de S. Ignacio da Companhia de Iesu. Em Rachol Anno de 16[]. It is a 16mo of ff. 122, signed A-V⁸, and has many curious small woodcuts. The last two figures of the date in the imprint have been obliterated, but although the British Museum catalogue gives 1690 as the date of printing, this is clearly impossible, since the license is dated 8 November 1629. The date on the title-page must originally have been either 1629 or 1630. It is noteworthy that the press-work of these seventeenth-century Goan books is clumsy and primitive in the extreme, while that of their sixteenth-century predecessors is much better.

2. The *Flos Sanctorum* is no. 15 in Professor Boxer's list. He says that it was printed in Tamil at Punikale in 1587. He remarks that the copy in the Vatican was only discovered by the Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in 1954, and 'has not yet been fully described bibliographically.' However, its existence disproves Leo Proserpio's claim that it was printed in 1578. x

The next press recorded by Leo Proserpio is that of Ambalakad, a village twenty miles south of Trichur, with a House of Jesus to which a seminary was attached about 1670. The first book known to have been printed here is the *Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary* of 1679. But, as we shall shortly see, there is evidence of the first piece of printing by an Englishman in India a few years before this. To complete our account of Ambalakad first, however: in 1679 Ignatius Aichamoni, a Catholic of Malabar, cut Tamil characters out of wood, and it was with these types that the Jesuits printed the dictionary, which was compiled by Father Anthony de Provence of the Madura Mission. In subsequent years many other books were printed at Ambalakad, which became better known as a publishing centre than either Cochin or Vypicotta. The Tamil types used were probably block-types of wood, as had been those used by John Gonsalves at Cochin, while movable metal types were used for European languages. Movable types seem to have been used later even for works in Tamil.

It is now time to retell the story of Henry Hills, the London printer, and his visit to India in 1674–75, when he printed a small number of works in Bombay, none of which is known to have survived.¹

Why did Hills go to India and what did he print there?

The story is to be found in the correspondence between the Governors of the Honourable East India Company in London and their representatives in Surat or Bombay, and it has been published by the Rev. Mr. Primrose. On 9 January 1670 Gerald Aungier, the first Governor of Bombay, sent a request from Bhimji Parekh, the Company's broker, for a printer to go to India to print 'some of the ancient Brahmin Writings'. No reply came until 3 April 1674, and then Henry Hills was chosen for the task. When he arrived at Bombay he could not print the sacred Brahmin scriptures because he had only brought English types, and he was not a type-cutter. Bhimji found some Indian metalworkers to cut new types, but felt it necessary to ask for a typesetter from England. When none was forthcoming the attempt to print in the 'Banian character' failed, but it seems that Henry Hills made some sort of an experiment with printing before it was discovered that he was an unsatisfactory worker and so he was asked to return home, with his accounts in a bad state and

1. J. B. Primrose, 'A London Printer's Visit to India in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library*, June 1939, pp. 100–104.

with an unfavourable reputation. In England once more, he seems to have begun printing about 1680 and to have continued until his death in 1713. No specimen of this episode in Bombay printing has been found, but its possible discovery in the future was not ruled out by Mr. Primrose in 1939.

The next attempt to introduce printing into Bombay was not made for another century and the earliest known specimen, a notice of the Mayor's court, is dated, in manuscript, 13 November 1779.

Danish missionaries set up a press at Tranquebar in Madras State, on the south-east coast of India, in 1712. Their principal aim was to produce the Bible in Tamil and also to interpret the Tamil language to Westerners. The British Museum has the Tamil Bible in six parts printed at Tranquebar between 1714 and 1728, the Tamil New Testament of 1722, and three copies of *Grammatica latino-tamulica* by an Italian missionary, Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi, produced for the use of the Jesuits at Tranquebar in 1738. In 1739 the Tranquebar press issued the *Observationes grammaticae* of a Danish missionary named Christopher Theodosius Walther.

But the two principal promoters of the new press at Tranquebar were Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719) and Johann Ernst Gründler, both of whom appear to have been German rather than Danish by birth. Many of Ziegenbalg's letters have been preserved, and some of them have been published by Priolkar.¹ At the beginning of 1715 a booklet was published in London which gives most interesting and valuable details about the new Tranquebar press and is therefore worth quoting at some length:

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Geo. Lewis, Chaplain to the Honourable the East-India-Company, at Fort St. George: giving an account of the method of instruction used in the Charity-schools of the Church, call'd Jerusalem, in Tranquebar; by the Protestant Missionaries there. Translated from the Portuguese-copy printed at Tranquebar. pp.iv.32. London, printed and sold by J. Downing, 1715.

The Rev. George Lewis's preface to the reader is dated from London on 25 January 1714–15, and the authors, Ziegenbalg and Gründler, subscribe their letter: *Tranquebar, in the East-Indies, on the Coast of Coromandel, Apr. 7, 1713*. Ziegenbalg had by

1. On Tranquebar see especially Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India, its beginnings and early development*, Bombay, 1958, chapter III, 'The Printing Press at Tranquebar (Madras): 1712. Work of the Danish Missionaries.'

that time been in India rather more than six years. We learn that in 1713 there were five schools, with 78 children in all. Three of the schools were 'Malabarick', one Portuguese and one Danish. There were 237 books in their 'Malabarick and Portuguese-Library'; the missionaries had already written and translated into the Malabaric language 32 books. 'Besides these, we have 14 Books written by *Romish* Missionaries; 156 Books of *Malabarick* Theology, Physick, and Philosophy; 12 concerning the *Mahometan* religion.' In Portuguese there were 22 books. The first four Portuguese books listed had already been printed at Tranquebar. They were:

1. An A, B, C.
2. The Method of Salvation.
3. A Summary of Christian Doctrines, set forth in Questions and Answers.
4. An Explication of the Christian Doctrines, according to the Order of the Catechism.

They continue:

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, considering how necessary the Distribution of Books is to the Propagation of the Christian Faith, have sent us, last Year [1712] (from England) a Printing-Press, with a Font of *Portuguese Letters*, with which we have, by this time, printed four Books, for the Benefit of Christians in these Parts. And this Year we expect to receive, if it so please God, a Set of *Malabarick-Types*, by the Ships that shall come from *Europe*, that we may likewise publish the Word of Salvation among the *Malabars*, in their own *Damulick* Language, and introduce the desirable Use of Books for their temporal and spiritual Advantage.

Thus the Danish Missionary Press at Tranquebar flourished from 1712 to at least 1739. In 1717 Ziegenbalg and Gründler set out in Latin their aims in a little book printed at Tranquebar of which the British Museum's copy has unhappily been lost for some twenty or more years. Its title is: 'Brevis delineatio Missionis operis, quod ad propagandam Christi cognitionem et promovendam pietatis praxin inter Paganos Orientales, & praecipue inter Damulos... Tranquebariae geritur a Missionariis Danicis Bartholomaeo Ziegenbalg et Joh. Ernesto Gründler.'

X Ziegenbalg, who had returned home to Europe on leave in 1715, published his *Grammatica Damulica* at Halle in 1716.

Apart from the good work performed at Tranquebar, the influence of which spread to nearby Madras and even further afield, there is no evidence of another press at work anywhere in India in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is not

until the last quarter of that century, as the next chapter will show, that printing began in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. By the end of the century printing was in full swing in all these three centres, but especially in Calcutta, the capital of British India.

Printing in Bengal from 1778 to the Early Nineteenth Century

When the last quarter of the eighteenth century began, there had still been no English printing in India. Books had been printed in Portuguese, Latin, Syriac, Malayalam, and Tamil; books had been printed at Goa and smaller places further south, and at Tranquebar on the south-east coast; but so far they had never been printed north of Goa. The East India Company, formed to trade with India and the East Indies, received its charter in 1600, and trading stations were established at Surat, Fort St. George, Madras, and Hoogly. From these grew the three presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Madras was founded by the Company in 1640, Bombay was first occupied by the British in 1665, and Calcutta, originally called Fort William, was founded in 1690, but Hoogly (or Hooghli) had been founded much earlier, by the Portuguese in 1537. Calcutta was the capital of British India, and in 1773 Warren Hastings (1732–1818) became the first Governor-General of India, a post which he held until 1784. It seems rather strange that there was no printing in Bengal before 1778, and none in Madras or Bombay until 1779.

The first book printed in Bengal did not appear in the capital, Calcutta, as might have been expected, but at Hoogly. It is a famous book, of which the British Museum has four copies, one with an additional page of errata. There is no printer's name in the imprint, but we know who he was. The work is the *Grammar of the Bengal Language*, by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, published in 1778 when the author was only twenty-seven, for he was born in 1751. Halhed was a civil servant of the East India Company.¹ The preface tells us of a Mr. Charles Wilkins, 'a gentleman

1. For this chapter in general, see Priolkar, *op. cit.*, ch.IV. The D.N.B. article on Halhed (by the Rev. Alexander Gordon) says that 'the printing-press set up by Halhed at Hooghly was the first in India'. This is of course absurd, but it *was* the first in Bengal. Halhed returned to England in 1785 and died in 1830. Thus neither he nor Wilkins was in India for very long, but their achievements in that country in a comparatively short time were most remarkable. After their departure it was left to Francis

who has been some years in the India Company's civil service in Bengal.' He was persuaded to undertake a set of Bengali types, a task which he carried out with complete success. Wilkins was born in either 1749 or 1750, and went in 1770 to Bengal as a writer for the East India Company to become subsequently superintendent of the Company's factories at Malda. He was a metallurgist, engraver, founder, and printer; but in addition to his technical skills he was among the first Englishmen to acquire a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, so that his attainments soon became known to and deeply appreciated by Governor Warren Hastings.

The Bengali and Sanskrit words in Halhed's book are in Bengali script from types engraved, cast, and printed by Wilkins. The work constitutes the first printing in Northern India not only in an Indian language but also in English. There is the following printed instruction to the binder: 'It is recommended not to bind this book till the setting in of the dry season, as the greatest part has been printed during the rains.'

No other book appeared at Hoogly, and it is to Malda, a Bengal town, about 175 miles north of Calcutta, that we must look to find the next book printed in Bengal. This appeared in 1780. Again the printer is not named, but he was almost certainly Charles Wilkins. This book is called *Compendious Vocabulary English and Persian, compiled for the use of the Honorable East India Company*, and it has 178 pages. The author was Francis Gladwin, whom we shall have frequent occasion to meet later. His date of birth is unknown, and he died probably in 1813.

After printing one book at Hoogly in 1778 and one book at Malda in 1780, Charles Wilkins must have set up the first press, or at least one of the first presses, in Calcutta itself in time to print, in 1781, the following short quarto volume:

A Translation of a Royal Grant of Land by one of the ancient Raajaas of Hindostan, from the original in the *Shanscrit* Language and Character, Engraved upon a Copper Plate, bearing date 56 years before the Christian AEra; and discovered some years since amongst the Ruins at Mongueer. pp. 8+4.

PRINTED at CALCUTTA by the TRANSLATOR. 1781.

The preface to the Honourable Warren Hastings is signed by Charles Wilkins, who explains that it was by Hastings' immediate command that he undertook to trans-

Gladwin to make the next important strides forward in the development of the printing industry in Bengal.

বোধপূকাশ° শব্দশাস্ত্র°
হিরিঙ্গিনামুপকারার্থ°
ক্রিয়তে হালেদষ্টেজী

A
GRAMMAR
OF THE
BENGAL LANGUAGE

BY
NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED.

ইন্দ্রাদয়োপি যস্যান্ত° নয়যুঃ শব্দবারিধেঃ।
পুষ্টিয়ান্তস্য কুৎসস্য ক্ষমোবক্তু° নরঃ কথ°॥

PRINTED
AT
HOOGLY IN BENGAL

M DCC LXXVIII.

A

COMPENDIOUS VOCABULARY
ENGLISH AND PERSIAN

INCLUDING

ALL THE

ORIENTAL SIMPLS in the *Materia Medica*, employed in modern practice :

WITH

TABLES subjoined of the SUCCESSIONS of the KHALIFFS , and of the
KINGS OF PERSIA AND HINDOSTAN,

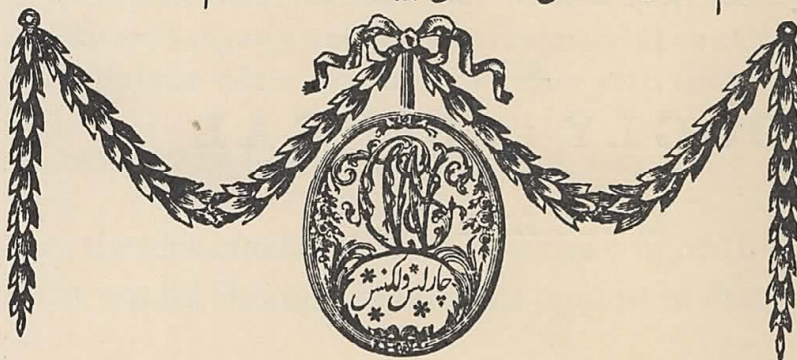
Compiled for the Use of the

HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY

FRANCIS GLADWIN.

نماید است بادامنی کوهرم | هنوز از خجالت سر اندر برم
که در بحر لولو صرف نیز هست | درخت بلند است در باغ پست
الا ای خردمند فرخنده خوی | هنر مند نشیده ام عیب جوی
نمازم بسرمایه فضل خویش | بدر ویره آورده ام دست پیش



A
TRANSLATION
OF
A ROYAL GRANT OF LAND
BY
ONE OF THE ANCIENT *RAAJAAS*
OF
HINDOSTAN,

From the Original in the *Shanscrit* Language and Character,
Engraved upon a Copper Plate, bearing date 56 years

Before the Christian Æra ; and

DISCOVERED

Some years since amongst the Ruins

AT

MONGUEER.

PRINTED AT CALCUTTA

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

1781.

late this document. The British Museum's copy has the manuscript note: 'Given by Warren Hastings Esquire to G. Staunton.'

It was produced by way of an experiment, and is the earliest piece of Calcutta printing that I have yet traced. The press-work is good, with firm, clear roman and italic types, showing that Wilkins was a master of his trade. In 1782 was printed at Calcutta *A Narrative of the Insurrection which happened in the Zemeedary of Banaris in the month of August 1781, and of the transactions of the Governor-General in that District; with an appendix of authentic papers and affidavits*, nearly 300 pages in all, and 'printed by order of the Governor-General' (i.e. Warren Hastings), with Charles Wilkins as Superintendent of the Press. Two copies of this work are in the British Museum. There are also several copies of *Ayeen Akbery; or, the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin*, in three volumes, printed at Calcutta between 1783 and 1786. Here the printer is not named, and I am not able to say whether he was Charles Wilkins or not. At all events Wilkins' press in Calcutta did not remain active for more than five years, because in 1786 he had to leave India for health reasons. Returning to England, he was knighted in 1833 after further outstanding services, and died in May 1836.

Quite a number of books were printed in Calcutta during these last years of the eighteenth century without giving the names of the press, but I have compiled from the signed books an impressive list of Calcutta printers and publishers to 1800, which I give at the end of this chapter, showing how rapidly printing spread there from 1782 to the end of the century.

There is, however, a depressing account of the typographical situation and especially of the unscrupulous, fraudulent behaviour of the printers, written on 15 May 1790 by Hāji Mustafā, originally a Turk born at Constantinople, who published in Calcutta in 1789 (appendix dated 1790) *A Translation of the Sēir Mutaqharin* by Ghulām Husain Khān, in two large volumes. He writes:

'No work within my knowledge in Calcutta, has been tolerably printed, but where the author himself was the owner of the printing office or a partner; or where the Printer had purchased the propriety of the work; or at least where he had been put upon his guard, by being made a sharer in the fate of the book to be printed, that is, by being promised for his trouble one half of the author's profits. For such and the like undertakings the Printers give themselves pains; and it is for these, and also for Gazettes, Advertisements, and such daily lucrative jobs, that they reserve

the two or three good hands that may be in a Printing Office.' And he adds in a footnote: 'There are but four Printing Offices at Calcutta, amongst which one only is worked by Europeans, that of Cooper's; the three others, although inspected by an European, are worked by natives, who print in a Printing office, just as they copy in a Counting House, without understanding the language.'

Cooper and Bruce, he remarks, are both scholars. Cooper is Joseph Cooper, whose name is found alone in Calcutta imprints in 1789 and 1797; then the partners Stuart and Cooper are found printing together at least from 1787 to 1789, and Cooper and Upjohn in 1790 and 1791. I have not come across the name of Bruce in Calcutta imprints; he may have been Cooper's assistant or foreman. Hāji Mustafā does not name the other three presses active in 1790, but we can see from my list that even if what he says was true in 1790, there had already been several more short-lived presses run by Europeans in Calcutta before that date. His painful conclusion is: 'Printing in this country requires a young man and a rich one, and I am neither.'¹ This may explain why so many of these early Calcutta presses lasted such a short time. The works which they undertook to publish were often large, weighty quartos, or folios in two, three or four volumes, and these may have brought more than one of them to financial ruin.

A few words should now be said about newspapers. They seem to have preceded books in Calcutta by one year, for in 1780 James Augustus Hickey founded the Bengal Gazette Press, publisher of the slanderous *Bengal Gazette*, known popularly as Hickey's Gazette.² About the same time there appeared for the first time an English-language weekly called the *Calcutta Chronicle*, with A. Upjohn as part-proprietor. The Calcutta Chronicle Press from which it issued was active during the last twenty years of the century, and there was also a Post Press at this time. It was not until 1784 that Francis Gladwin established the Calcutta Gazette Press which published the official government gazette. I quote: 'On March 4, 1784, was published the first number of a weekly newspaper from 37, Larkins Lane, Calcutta. The weekly was designated *The Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser* and was published under the sanction and authority of the Governor-General in Council, who had in

1. A Translation of the *Sēir Mutaqharin*, by Ghulām Husain Khān, translated by Hāji Mustafā, Calcutta, 1789, vol. II, Appendix (addressed to William Armstrong and dated Calcutta, 15 May 1790), pp. 4, 5.

2. M. Siddiq Khan, 'The Early History of Bengali Printing', *The Library Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, January 1962.

an order, dated 9 February 1784, permitted Francis Gladwin to publish the weekly... The Gazette continued to be published under the name *The Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser* till August, 1791; but from September 1791 to May, 1815, the Gazette was called simply the *Calcutta Gazette*.¹

By 1825-26, it has been estimated, there were about forty presses at work in Calcutta alone; but this does not include the number which had by then closed down.

We must now say something of the Missions, which were all-important to this story. In 1799 the Serampore Mission was founded, and in 1800 Fort William College. The Baptist Mission Press at Serampore, near Calcutta, produced many books, mostly grammars and dictionaries, the earliest being William Carey's *Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengalee Language*, 1801. The name of William Carey is the best-known in the bibliography of Bengal, and he was one of the greatest scholar-missionaries in the world. Born in 1761, he helped to found the Baptist Missionary Society, and arrived in India in 1793. He acquired a wide knowledge of Indian languages, translated much of the Bible and compiled a number of grammars and dictionaries. For nearly thirty years Carey was Professor of Oriental Languages at Fort William College, Calcutta.² He died in 1834.

In 1816 the Calcutta Book Society was founded, and in 1818 the Baptist missionaries published at Serampore a Bengali monthly and a weekly, the first periodicals published in an Indian language.³ In 1818 they printed *Specimens of editions of the Sacred Scriptures in the Eastern languages, translated by the Brethren of the Serampore Mission, and of several others, printed at the Mission Press*. This contains the Lord's Prayer in forty-nine Asiatic languages. By this time grammars of the principal local languages had been printed for the benefit of English-speakers, and in addition William Carey's son Felix had in 1814 produced at Serampore a *Grammar of the Burman Language*.

Because Calcutta was the capital of British India, its output of books during the whole of the period covered by this brief survey was greater than that of the rest of

1. *The Days of John Company. Selections from Calcutta Gazette, 1824-1832*. Compiled and edited by Anil Chandra Das Gupta, Calcutta, 1959.

2. See M. Siddiq Khan, 'William Carey and the Serampore Books (1800-1834)', *Libri*, XI (1961), 197-280. See also the exhibition catalogue by Katharine Smith Diehl, *Early Indian Imprints, an exhibition from the William Carey Historical Library of Serampore*, Serampore, 1962.

3. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, London, 1956, p. 316.

India put together, for it was responsible not only for the printing of state papers or other official publications, but also for learned works produced by zealous, brilliant and incredibly industrious scholars, of whom the following should be mentioned:

Sir William Jones (1746–94), the first English scholar properly to master Sanskrit; and John Borthwick Gilchrist (1759–1841), who learnt Sanskrit, Persian (both classical languages) and then the vernacular Hindustani. Both of these men arrived in Calcutta for the first time in 1783, Gilchrist as a doctor and Jones as a lawyer. Gilchrist became Head of Fort William College, Calcutta, in 1800, returning to Britain in 1804. Then there was Francis Gladwin, already mentioned (dates unknown; probably died in 1813), who served in the Bengal Army, and made numerous translations from Persian literature. In 1801 he became a professor at Fort William College. Fourthly, there was Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), described by the D.N.B. as ‘the first great Sanskrit scholar of Europe’, although it is doubtful whether this distinction really belongs to him or to Jones. The bibliography of these six scholars—Jones, Gladwin, Gilchrist, Colebrooke and the two Careys—accounts for a very large proportion of the copy supplied to the Bengal printers up till about the year 1830, and they were aware of the need to encourage the presses in their experimental stages: Gladwin especially, who in 1802 presented new founts of oriental types to the press of the College of Fort William where he was teaching.

For those interested in obtaining more details about the number and the names of books printed in Bengal throughout the period covered by this account, the best source (for all its lamentable faults of prolixity and journalistic raciness) is Katharine Smith Diehl’s book *Early Indian Imprints*, published by the Scarecrow Press, New York, in 1964.

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS IN CALCUTTA BEFORE 1800

Charles Wilkins	1781, 1782
B. Messink	1782
John Hay	1785
Daniel Stuart	1785
'The Mission' (in Portuguese)	1785
William Mackay	1786-1788
J. Shakell	1787
Stuart and Cooper	1787-1789
Thomas Jones	1788, 1789
Joseph Cooper	1789-1797
Manuel Cantopher	1789, 1790
Cooper and Upjohn	1790, 1791
The Honourable Company's Press	1791-1795
(The printer here is named in a book of 1792 as Archibald Thomson)	
Thomas Levingston (The Mirror Press)	1792
Chronicle Press	1793-1796
James White	1794
C. L. Vogel, Telegraph Press	1798
Ferris and Greenway	1798
Mirror Press	1799
John Johnson, Hircarrah Press	1799
Rozario and Co.	?

N.B. The dates quoted above represent only those which I have found in imprints, and not the complete period of activity of the presses concerned.

Early Printing at Madras

The story of the introduction of printing into Madras is fraught with so many immense difficulties that it is impossible even to say with certainty in which year the first book was printed there.¹ Deschamps² quotes the following titles, but I have never seen any of the books:

- (1) Certain pieces translated into Telegu by Benjamin Schultze, 1727-28.
- (2) *The Ladder to Learning*. A select collection of fables, with a Tamil version by Gamiyappa-Mudeli. Madras, 1749.
- (3) *Nouveau cahier ou invitation adressée aux Arméniens*, par Jacques Chamir, banquier Arménien à Madras. Madras, 1772.
- (4) Calendars for the years of Our Lord 1772-73-74-75-76 and 77, calculated for the Meridian of Calcutta. Printed at Madras.
- (5) Schamir. *Le Restant de l'histoire de l'Arménie et de la Géorgie*. [In Armenian.] Madras, 1775. (Translated also into French by M. de St. Martin.) Deschamps explains that Schamir is really only the publisher, Étienne Orbélien being the original author.
- (6) New Testament in Malabar translated by J. P. Fabricius. Madras, 1777.

1. Professor Priolkar writes: 'The beginning of printing in Madras proper took place under somewhat curious circumstances which are described by Mr. W. H. Warren as follows:—"In 1761 Sir Eyre Coote captured Pondicherry from the French and in the Governor's house was found a printing press and some types. These were brought back to Madras as part of the loot, but the Fort St. George authorities were unable to make use of them as they had no printer. Fabricius, the great Tamil scholar, was then living at Vepery, and the equipment was handed over to him on condition that if at any future time the Company should require any printing done, he would do it for them... It was at Vepery that Fabricius printed his hymn-book, and also his Tamil-English Dictionary (1779)".' (A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India*, Bombay, 1958, p.47.) Apart from this, Prof. Priolkar passes over the rest of eighteenth-century printing in Madras in complete silence, as though there had been none.

2. Pierre Deschamps, *L'Imprimerie hors l'Europe*, Paris, 1964 reprint, p.95.

If any of these books really exist, I shall be pleased to be informed of their locations. Next, there are two false imprints which I found in the catalogue of the India Office Library and which have to be cleared away before we can say that we are on firm ground.

(1) Francis Xavier, Saint. *Cartas de S. Francisco Xavier, Apostol de las Indias*, etc. 2 vol. Madras, [1752]. A glance at the bibliography of Palau y Dulcet shows that this is a simple misprint for Madrid, 1752.

(2) *Facts... taken... from the Consultations of Fort St. George, and Lord Pigot's Letters... intended as a summary of those principles of Government which deprived his Lordship of the chair... to guide... judgments at the approaching General Court*. pp. 4. Fort St. George, 1776. There is no imprint, but clearly, like all the other tracts in the same volume, this one too was printed in London.

We now come to the earliest and most important book printed at Madras of which I have actually seen, and thoroughly studied from a typographical point of view, more than one copy. It is the famous dictionary, *Malabar and English, English and Malabar*, compiled by the two German Lutheran missionaries Johann Philipp Fabricius and Christian Breithaupt. It was first published anonymously. The British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford have copies of the first part only, while the India Office has both parts. But the British Museum and the India Office copies both lack the title page, which is present only in the Bodleian copy. Here the imprint reads 'Printed at Vepery near Madras in the Year 1779.' Vepery is so near to Madras as to be considered a suburb of the city. A second edition was printed in 1786, again in two parts, in quarto, and again anonymously. This has the imprint 'Printed and completely done at Vepery near Madras in the year 1786.'

The British Museum has both parts. It is really no more than a reissue of the 1779 edition, for in 1809 a new edition, describing itself as 'Second edition revised & corrected by the Rev. Mr. Poetzold, Mr. William Simpson and the Malabar Catechists,' and bearing on the title-page also the names of the original authors, was published with the imprint 'Printed at Vepery in the year 1809.' This edition contains only the Malabar-English part, and again copies are in the British Museum and the Bodleian. There are typographical ornaments in all three editions which show that they came from the same press; the printers are never named, but it was obviously the press of the Lutheran mission established at Vepery.

M. DCC. LXXIX.

In Madras itself, the principal eighteenth-century printers known to me by name are Charles Ford (active 1787–90), Joseph Martin (active 1791, 1792) and William Hunter (active 1796). Charles Ford, for instance, printed in 1787 and subsequent years a number of sets of regulations for the East India Company's Army on the coast of Coromandel, and then, from 1788 to 1790, he printed a group of important and very interesting works by James Anderson, the Physician General at Madras, resident at Fort St. George. These consist of letters to Sir Joseph Banks, the eminent scientist in London, and a volume of them presented to him by the author is now in the India Office Library. They were followed in 1791 and 1792 by further letters of a similar kind by the same author, but printed by Joseph Martin, and the subjects dealt with in these publications by Dr. Anderson include cochineal insects, the culture of white and red lac, mulberry trees and silkworms, and bread-fruit trees. Some of these attractive little books (which are not in the British Museum) contain copperplate engravings of high quality. It is clear from one of Dr. Anderson's letters, dated 2 August 1791, that newspapers printed in Madras before that date were regularly sent to London. The earliest Madras newspaper seems to have been the *Madras Courier*, for an isolated issue, dated 25 January 1786, is in the Burney Collection of newspapers at the British Museum. A paper called *The Hircarrah* was printed in 1794, and on 1st January 1795 the *Madras Gazette* was first issued.

It is worth while here to quote from two earlier letters by the same Dr. Anderson to show some of his other publishing interests and activities in Madras. On May 27th., 1787, he wrote: 'I have published advertisements in the English and Tamul Languages, offering a reward to such Persons, as will collect and cure the *Chloeoon* or Grass Egg in sufficient quantity to enable the Artists in Europe farther to ascertain its Virtues.' Then in his *Letters on Cochineal continued*, printed at Madras in 1789, he wrote from Fort St. George on July 25th., 1789, a letter 'to the Honorable John Hollond Esq. President and Governor &c. Council':

'Honorable Sir and Sirs

I have the honor to acquaint you, that there are 500 Copies of the Directions for taking care of the Insects at Sea, returned from the Press, some of which might be forwarded to Canton by you (*sic*) Secretary, on the Ships now about to sail, with instructions to distribute them in the Acapulco Ship, which comes annually to Macao; the rest I shall issue here to ships of all Nations; for although they are yet only in an English and French dress, I have no doubt abundance of Persons will be found in New Spain, who understand one or other, or both of these Languages.

As it is however chiefly in New Spain I wish them to be distributed, it would be better still, they should appear in a Language more generally understood there, and therefore hope your Spanish Interpreter may be directed to translate them into Castilian...'

A few more early books may here be mentioned, but as often as not they name no printer. A Calendar for 1785 was printed at Madras, presumably in 1784, without naming the printer: a copy is in the British Museum. In 1796 further official documents of the East India Company or of its Army were printed at the Courier Press, Madras, by William Hunter. In 1799 at Fort St. George (no printer named) was published *Copies and translations of official documents relative to the negotiations carried on by Tippoo Sultaun with the French nation and other foreign states, for purposes hostile to the British nation, etc.*

Other books printed by the Mission Press at Vepery include:

John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1793.

Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi (Italian missionary), *A Grammar of the common dialect of the Tamulian language*, translated by Christopher Henry Horst, 1806.

In 1829 the Church Mission Press at Madras printed *Digest of the proceedings of the Madras Medical Fund*, and in 1839 appeared another important linguistic work, Frederic Spring's *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malayalam language, as spoken in the provinces of North and South Malabar and the kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin*. These books are in the British Museum.

The Telugu language was dealt with by A. D. Campbell in his *Grammar of the Teloogo Language*, first printed by the College of Fort St. George Press in 1816, and second edition 1820. The Board established in 1812 for this college maintained a library of oriental works. As for Kannada, the language of Mysore State, an English-Kannada dictionary compiled by the Rev. William Reeve, a protestant missionary, was printed at the same press of Fort St. George in 1824, since there was as yet no press at work in Bangalore or Mysore. A rival of Reeve's, J. M. M'Kerrel, had already published in Madras in 1820 *A Grammar of the Carnatic Language*.¹

The principal works printed at Madras in the early years, linguistic and otherwise, have been briefly mentioned in this chapter, but it will have become clear that Madras was never nearly as prolific in its printing programme as was Calcutta.

1. Priolkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50. The works here named are in the British Museum.

Plan of Dr Anderson's private Nursery

laid out in 1787

Page 14

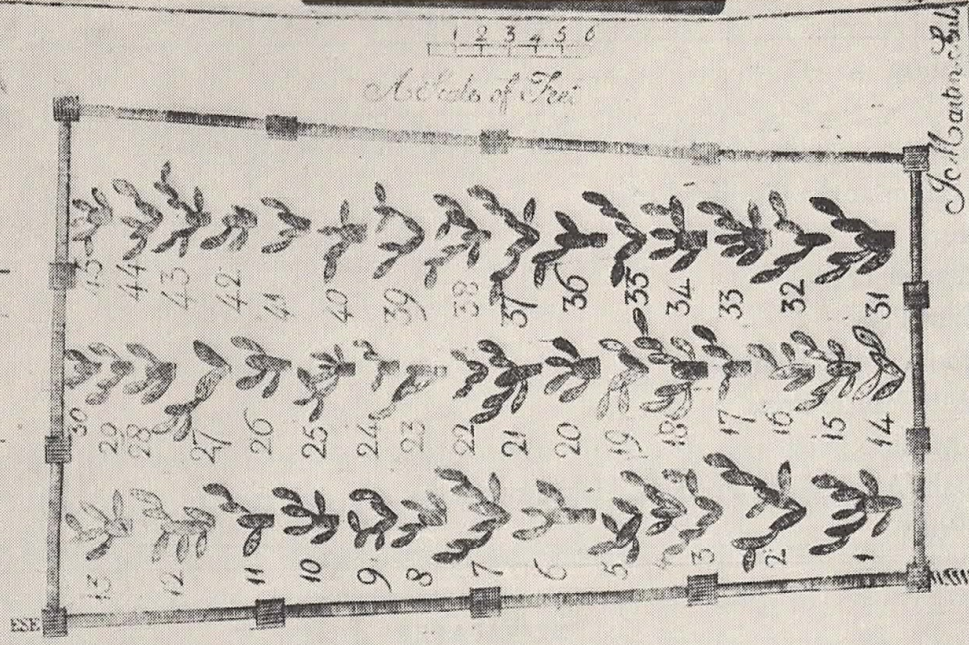
REFERENCES

China Nopals received from Canton Dec^r 31st 1787
N^o 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23. 24. 30. 40. 41. 43. 44. 45.

Mexican Nopals received in c May 1788
from c Manila. N^o 7. 10. 11. 17. 22.

Nopals from the Isle of France received
March 1st 1788. N^o 25. 26. 27. 28. 29

Nopals from His Majesty's Garden at
Kew received p^r ship Bridgewater
N^o 39. 42



J. Anderson Del.

PRESSES IN OR NEAR MADRAS BEFORE 1850

X Vepery Mission	1779-1820
Charles Ford	1787-1790
Joseph Martin	1791, 1792
William Hunter at the Courier Press	1796
College Press	1816-1824
X Church Mission Press	1825-1833
Male Asylum Press	1827
Madras School Book Society	1828
Government Gazette Press	1832
X American Mission Press	1839
J. B. Pharoah (Athenaeum Press, R. Hosie, printer)	1839
Spectator Press	1840

NEWSPAPERS

The Madras Courier	Issue for 25 Jan. 1786 is in the Burney Collection, British Museum; various issues from 12 May 1790 to 19 April 1792 are in British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale.
The Hircarrah	no. 18-31, 33-58, 7 Jan.-14 Oct. 1794 are in British Museum Newspaper Library.
The Madras Gazette	Began on 1 January 1795. Set in British Museum Newspaper Library.

N.B. The above dates for presses are not exclusive, and do not represent the first and last years in which the press operated; they indicate either the years for which I have found their imprints or the years during which they were most active.

Early Printing in Bombay

Printing took a much less firm hold in Bombay during the eighteenth century than in Madras, although the year of its inception was the same: 1779. Priolkar¹ quotes 1780 as the first year of known printing in Bombay (excluding the seventeenth-century venture which we have mentioned in an earlier chapter), but actually the earliest known specimen of eighteenth-century printing in the city is a notice of the Mayor's court, dated in manuscript 13th November 1779, the same year in which the Fabricius dictionary appeared at Madras.²

The Rev. Primrose does not say in his article where a copy of this notice is to be seen, but some years ago he told me that it was in private hands in Bombay. For Professor Priolkar the first book printed in Bombay is a *Calendar for the Year of Our Lord 1780*, 'printed by Rustom Caresajee in the Buzar'. It consisted of thirty-four pages and cost two rupees. As George Buist, editor of the *Bombay Times*, correctly remarked in 1855, this calendar must have been set up in 1779 in order to be ready for the beginning of 1780. Professor Priolkar believes, however, that no copy of this calendar is extant. The earliest book which he has seen, and of which he gives a facsimile of the title-page (plate 47 in his book), is *Remarks and occurrences (sic) of Mr. Henry Becher. During his imprisonment of two years and a half in the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, from whence he made his escape. Corrected and revised by the author. Printed in Bombay, 1793.*

A copy is in the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture at Bombay, but there seems to be no copy in the British Isles. No printer is named in the book, and it is impossible to know who was responsible for printing it in 1793 when no regular

1. Priolkar, *op. cit.*, ch.V, p.71.

2. J. B. Primrose, 'A London Printer's Visit to India in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library*, June 1939, p.104.

press seems to have been at work in Bombay. Whoever he was, he claims in the preface that it is 'the first book ever printed in Bombay'. The claim may be true if the Calendar for 1780 is indeed apocryphal, for the mayorial document of 1779 is a single-sheet item which cannot rank as a book.

Three periodicals were evidently inaugurated in Bombay about this time: the *Bombay Herald* in 1789, the *Bombay Gazette* in 1790 and the *Bombay Courier* in 1791, but copies of their earliest issues do not appear to exist today.¹

At this point, having seen that the art of printing books did not really take firm root in Bombay until the 1790s, we should go back to the unreliable Deschamps to see what he has to say about printing in Bombay.² Firstly, he mentions the interesting report (unconfirmed) that there were already two booksellers in Bombay in 1763-65. Evidently brothers, their names were Richard and Samuel Draper, in Newberry Street. They may have been importers of books from England for members of the East India Company. It is not likely that they were also printers.

Next, Deschamps mentions Samuel Guise's *A Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts collected in Indoostan*. This was printed without date or imprint; Deschamps believes it to have been printed at Bombay in 1792, but the British Museum, which has three copies, thinks that it was printed in London in 1793, and this is more likely to be true. Deschamps names three more books:

(1) Duncan, Jonathan. *Reports on the Province of Malabar*. 3 vols. Bombay, 1794. I have not located a copy of this work.

(2) Jeejee, Behramjee. *Khordeh Avestak, a manual of the Parsee Liturgy, in the Guzerat language*. Bombay, 1798. It is not clear whether this book was printed in Gujarati or in English characters. Professor Priolkar states that the first advertisement printed in Gujarati characters appeared in the issue of the *Bombay Courier* dated January 29, 1797. The types used in this were cast by an employee of the Courier Press.³ Thus it is not impossible that the book of 1798 was printed in Gujarati types at the Courier Press. I have not seen a copy.

(3) *A Letter to an Officer on the Madras Establishment, being an attempt to illustrate some particular institutions of the Mahratta people...* By William Henry Tone. Bombay, Courier Press, 1798. 110 pages. This must be correct, since the British Mu-

1. Priolkar, p.72.

2. Deschamps, *op. cit.*, p.17.

3. Priolkar, p.73.

seum has a London reprint of 1799 which states on the title-page that it had already been printed in Bombay the previous year.

The earliest Bombay book which I have so far found and seen in the British Museum is Robert Drummond, *Grammar of the Malabar Language*, printed at the Courier Printing Office in 1799. This is a particularly interesting copy, since it was presented by the author to Sir James McIntosh (1765–1832), the Scottish writer, who in 1804 went to Bombay as a judge and in 1813, after his return to England, was made Professor of Law at the East India College, Haileybury. This book by Drummond contains such an intriguing colophon that it is worth quoting in full:

It was young Pandaram Ram Swamy, of the house of Padipura in Calicut, who, observing that monday the third day of the month of Danoo of the Malabar year 975 (16th. December 1799) was the anniversary of the birth of Ram Swamy (the Lord, and Master) having implored Ganabady (God of Wisdom) put in the last type that brings this first attempt at an English Malabar Grammar to an end.

The Courier Press was the only firmly established press in Bombay before 1800. The employee of that press who first cut types in Gujarati and Malayalam characters was named Jijibhai Chapghar. Dr. Robert Drummond in his preface of 1799 noted that he had been delighted to find, on arrival in Bombay, 'a font of types, in the Malabar character, executed in an unexceptionable manner by Bheramjee Jeejebhoy, a Parsee inhabitant of this place, the ingenious artist who, without any other help or information than what he gleaned from Chamber's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, succeeded in completing a font of Guzzeratty types a few years ago.'

The first advertisement printed in Marathi in the *Bombay Courier* appeared in the issue dated July 17, 1802.¹ The same types were also used for printing another book by Dr. Drummond, which the Courier Press printed in 1808: *Illustrations of the grammatical parts of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English languages*. The Courier and Gazette Presses in Bombay printed the *Compilation of all the Government and General Orders of the Bombay Army* in 1801, and in 1827, when printing an important book by Arthur Steele, *Summary of the Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes within the Dekhun Provinces subject to the Presidency of Bombay*, the Courier Press gave its address as no. 1, Church Gate Street. Fardunji Marzaban established the first Gujarati press in Bombay in 1812. A good account of his activities is given by Professor Priolkar.²

1. *Ibid.*, p.75.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.78–9.

So far, printing in Bombay had been of a political, administrative or linguistic nature. In 1813 American Missionaries came to Bombay and soon set up a press. As late as 1849 they printed a work entitled *Railways for Bombay*. There is no need to repeat here the details of the American Mission Press given by Priolkar.¹

In 1822 the Bombay Native School Book and School Society was founded, changing its name in 1827 to the Bombay Native Education Society. This society printed many school books. Later there was also a Victoria Press in Bombay which in 1847 printed *Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan Poets* by Cavelly Venkata Ramaswami Pundit.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-87.

GRAMMAR
OF THE
MALABAR LANGUAGE,
BY
ROBERT DRUMMOND,
OF THE
Honorable East-India Company's
MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE COURIER PRINTING OFFICE,
1799.

Early Printing in the Smaller Centres

In this chapter I have taken some twenty-five towns (in one or two cases they are villages or suburbs), excluding Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Serampore, and I have arranged them in alphabetical order, giving short notes on the history of printing in each one. It is not to be assumed that these notes are definitive; they merely represent the results of my researches on Indian bibliography up to the end of 1966, and are based almost entirely (but not quite) on the holdings of the British Museum and the India Office. They also take into account the very unreliable notes of Deschamps, and they help to correct previous errors found in various catalogues.

AGRA 1835

Deschamps records the *Mearat Universal Magazine*, five volumes, printed at the Orphan-Press-Secundra, 1835-38. It is true that my own researches also show that the *Meerut Universal Magazine* was the first work printed at Agra, but in the British Museum, which has vols. 2, 3 and 4 only, the imprint of vol. 2 (1836) is 'Printed for the Conductors at the Agra Press, by A. R. Vogel', and vol. 3 was printed by W. Ward.

The following are also recorded:

The Agra Ukhbar. New series, 1838, 39.—The B.M. has two volumes, certain numbers only. This is classified as a newspaper.

O'Brien, James. *A Glossary of Revenue Technicalities, in the vernacular language, etc.* Agra, 1840. 4°.—No copy of this book yet located.

A. R. Vogel, who printed at Agra in 1836, may have been a descendant of the C. L. Vogel who printed at Calcutta in 1798.

ALLAHABAD 1846 (1840?)

Deschamps says that the American missionaries organized and set up a press in this holy city about 1840, called the Presbyterian Mission Press. My own researches give the following imprints:

Catechism for Young Children. (In English and Hindustani.) Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad, 1846. 16°. (Deschamps only.)

Pratnavidyalayiya, pseud. *The Nyaya Philosophy and Henry Thomas Colebrooke. A letter to K.* [i.e. J. R. Ballantyne] *of the Benares Magazine, touching novel opinions on Indian logic, etc.* pp. 13. Printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad. Rev. Jos. Warren, Superintendent. 1849. 8°.—B.M. 8467.e.30(1).

The Constitution and History of the Benares Bank, compiled from the records. pp. 172. Presbyterian Mission Press, Allahabad, 1849. 8°.—B.M. 8227.bbb.46.

BANGALORE 1840

According to Deschamps, there was printing in Sanskrit or Canarese characters here in 1806, 1810, and 1815. This is not confirmed. For printing in English, see the short article by D. E. Rhodes, 'Early Printing in Bangalore', in the weekly paper *Mysindia* (printed at Bangalore), August 28, 1960, p. 16.

It appears that the first English-language press set up in Bangalore was the Wesleyan Mission Press, and the earliest definite date is 1840.¹ In 1838 the two chaplains at Bangalore, George James Cubitt and George Trevor, published a fourteen-page 'Letter from the Chaplains of Bangalore to the inhabitants of that station and district', signed by them 'Bangalore, June 1838'. This was, however, printed by R. W. Thorpe at the Vepery Mission Press, Church Street, Vepery, Madras; presumably because there was not yet a press at work in Bangalore.

The following books are known:

(1) *Canarese and English Instructor, or a help in acquiring a knowledge of the English language.* (Anonymous.) Bangalore, 1841.—A copy is in the British Council Library at Delhi.

(2) *A Catechism of Geography and Astronomy.* (In English and Canarese.) pp. 60. Wesleyan Mission Press, Bangalore. 1842. 12°.—B.M. 14176.h.5(1).

1. William Arthur, *A Mission to the Mysore*, London, 1902, p. 135.

(3) Trevor, George. *Sermon preached to the 2nd European Light Infantry in St. Mark's Church, Bangalore, on Sunday, 19th June, 1842.* To which is prefixed, the address and prayer at the consecration of the colours of that regiment, on Saturday, 18th June, 1842. By George Trevor, S.C.L. of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, Chaplain to the Honourable Company. pp. 24. Bangalore: Printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press. 1842. 12°.—B.M. 1358.a.58(4).

(4) Garrett, John. *A Manual English and Canarese Dictionary.* By John Garrett, assisted by other missionaries. Printed for the School Book Society, at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Bangalore, 1844.—Not in B.M. See A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India*, 1958, plate 21; and Birrell & Garnett, Catalogue no. XXXVIII, no. 76 A.

Another press was active in Bangalore by 1848, and printed:

A Forced March from my home in Old England, to my home in the Regiment. pp. 203. Printed at the Columbian Press, by Thomas Beare, Bangalore, 1848.—B.M. 10025. aa.4.

The author of this anonymous book has never been identified; see my article, 'First Book printed at Bangalore', *Mysindia*, 3–4 January 1959, p. 14. The title of this article is erroneous, since it was not by any means the first book printed at Bangalore; but the author of the article had no control over the title of his essay, which was supplied by the editors of the paper, and I later disclaimed all responsibility for it. This book is still the only product of its press which I have found.

BELLARY 1827 (possibly as early as 1810)

Deschamps says that the first press at Bellary, that of the London Mission Society, may have been as early as 1810. But he gives only the following imprints, which are not in the British Museum:

New Testament translated into Carnatica language by J. Hands. Bellary, 1820.

Bunyan, John. *Pilgrim's Progress.* (In Canarese.) Bellary, 1833.

English-Telugu Grammar. Bellary, 1835.

It is true that the Rev. William Arthur, in his book *A Mission to the Mysore* (London, 1847, pp. 129–30) writes: 'In 1820 the Rev. John Hands, of the London Missionary Society, printed the New Testament at Bellary, and, twelve years after, the Old.' But these ascriptions of the New Testament to a press at Bellary made by

Arthur and Deschamps seem to be wrong, for the edition must be the same as that in the British Museum, which has the imprint in square brackets: Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society Press at Madras. In this the B. M. is following the authority of T. H. Darlow, and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (two vols., 1903 & 1911), no. 5867, where it is stated emphatically that the 1820 edition was printed at Madras. It adds, however, that the Old Testament was printed at Bellary, beginning in 1827. Perhaps we should therefore take it as understood that as early as 1820 there was no press yet operating at Bellary, and that 1827 is the earliest known date for a book printed there.

The earliest books to be traced in the British Museum are:

(1) Smith, John. *An Introductory Discourse delivered at the Public Recognition of the Rev. John Smith, as Pastor of the Church, assembling in Davidson's Street, Madras, March 18th. 1829.* Also the address of the minister. pp. 25. Bellary, Printed at the Mission Press. 1829.—B.M. 4765.c.9.

(2) Cubitt, George James. *To the European and Indo-Briton inhabitants of Bellary,* this letter is addressed by their affectionate friend and pastor, George J. Cubitt. pp.27. Bellary, Printed at the Mission Press. 1834. (Dated by the author, Bellary, January 1st. 1834.)—B.M. 4765.c.8.

(3) Otter, E. R. *The Importance of restoring discipline to the Protestant Episcopal Church in India,* considered in a letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Calcutta, By E. R. Otter, Chaplain at Bellary. pp. 26. Printed at the Bellary Mission Press. B. H. Paine, Printer. 1838.—B. M. 4766.e.18(5).

BENARES (1818?)

The imprint 'Benares, 1817' in the India Office Catalogue for a tract by Bireswar Sen (or Viresvara Sena) is evidently an error for 1876, since the same tract is also in the British Museum. It is a speech delivered by the author in 1876.

According to Deschamps, the English Church Missionary Society, under the supervision of Thomas Brown, printed editions of the Bible and other works at Benares in 1818 or 1819. I have not seen these.

It appears that Benares books before 1850 were for the most part printed at Allahabad or Mirzapore. (See under these towns.)

BHOOJ

The Calcutta Library catalogue gives 'Bhooj, 1829' as the imprint of James Burnes' *A Sketch of the History of Cutch from its first connexion with the British Government in India to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1819*. But this book (of which there is a copy in the British Museum) is lithographed throughout, not printed with movable type, and, it has no imprint.

The author is described as 'Civil Servant in Cutch, Bhooj Residency, July 1829'. There is no evidence of printing at Bhooj at this period.

CALICUT (1791?)

According to Deschamps, a translation into Arabic of the Pentateuch was printed in 1791 by a press of English missionaries, probably Wesleyans or Methodists.

There is no other evidence of printing at Calicut in the early period.

CAWNPORE 1830

According to Deschamps, the earliest books produced in Cawnpore were all lithographed, and none before 1830. The Asiatic Lithographic Company certainly worked at Calcutta and Cawnpore from 1830 onwards, but the following book in the India Office Library is printed and gives the name of the printer:

Proceedings of the European General Court Martial, Assembled at Cawnpore, on the 19th November, 1829, For the Trial of Lieutenant W. Y. Torckler, 4th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, Carefully Compiled and Revised from the Records in the Office of the Deputy Judge Advocate General. Cawnpore. 1830. Printed and Published for Lieutenant Torckler, at the Cawnpore Press by T. Greenway. (India Office, 46.L.24.)—It will be remembered that there was a firm of printers in Calcutta named Ferris and Greenway in 1798. The British Museum has an edition of the Persian poet Hafiz printed entirely in Persian at Cawnpore in 1831.

COCHIN

See Chapter I.

Deschamps relates that the Rev. Benjamin Bailey arrived at Cottayam in 1817 and set up a press in 1820: he set about printing the Bible in Malayalam and English, but nothing seems to have been completed until 1829: the press was called the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society Press, and in the Malayalam translation of the Rev. B. Bailey the British Museum has:

New Testament. 3 pt. 1829. 8°. (Darlow & Moule 6559.)

Old Testament. pp. 1120. 1839-68. (A made-up copy.)

Old Testament. Second part. (Joshua, Esther.) pp. 629. 1840.

New Testament. pp. 558. 1843. 12°. (Darlow & Moule 6563.)

There was evidently also a Book of Common Prayer in Malayalam printed at this press in 1838.

The next press at Cottayam seems to have been the Church Mission Press, and the earliest books printed by it were the works of the Rev. Joseph Peet, of the Church Missionary Society, Mavelicara, near Quilon:

(1) *A Grammar of the Malayalim Language*, as spoken in the principalities of Travancore and Cochin, and the districts of North and South Malabar. pp.xv. 218. Printed at the Church Mission Press, Cottayam, 1841. 8°.—B.M. 12907.bbb.14.—Also in India Office.—The author's dedicatory epistle to his Highness the Rajah of Travancore is dated from Mavelicara, November 15th., 1841.

(2) *A Sermon literally translated into English*, as originally preached in the Malayalim language, on the 3rd of January 1843, at the opening of a new church in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, at Pallam, Travancore, by the Rev. Joseph Peet, Mavelicara. pp.24. Church Mission Press, Cottayam, 1845. 8°.—B.M. 4473.f.7(12).

The Church Mission Press at Cottayam also printed an important book in 1849: the Rev. Benjamin Bailey's *A Dictionary, English and Malayalim*. pp. viii. 545.—B.M. 825.f.28.

CUTTACK 1839

The Orissa Mission Press printed a large number of religious and educational tracts at Cuttack from 1839 onwards, the most active writer of them being the Rev. Amos Sutton. Some of these tracts have parallel texts in English and Oriya, others have the title in English and the text in Oriya only, while some are entirely in Oriya. Of those with an English title, the following may be mentioned:

(1) *The Elements of Geography in Oriya*: for the use of schools. Cuttack: Printed at the Orissa Mission Press. 1839.

(2) *Outlines of History from the Creation of the World till the present time*. (Intended as a companion to the Elements of geography.) [The compiler's preface signed: A.S., i.e. Amos Sutton?] 1839.

(3) *A Catechism on the Bible History*. 1839.

(4) *Thomas and his conscience, or 'It will never be found out'*. Cuttack: Printed for the Orissa Tract Society, at the Baptist Mission Press. 1839. School book series. no. 4. 2,000 copies printed.

(5) *Oriya Primer*. [c.1840.]

(6) *The History of Joseph*, extracted from the Bible. Cuttack: Printed at the Orissa Tract Society. 1841. 2,000 copies. Orissa Tract Society series. no. 40.

(7) *Miracles of Christ*. Cuttack, 1841. Orissa Tract Society series. no. 38. 5,000 copies printed.

(8) *The Parables of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. Cuttack, 1841. O.T.S. no. 39. 5,000 copies.

All the above tracts, and others from the same press, are in the British Museum, which also has the following:

Sutton, Amos. *An Oriya Dictionary*. 3 vols. Printed at the Orissa Mission Press: Cuttack, 1841-43. B. M. 15001. d.6.

The First Lesson in Oriya. Addressed to candidates for missionary labour in Orissa. pp.195. Printed at the Orissa Mission Press: Cuttack, 1844. 12°. B.M. 14121.g.15.

DELHI (1839?)

According to Deschamps, a weekly paper entitled *The Persian Akbar* was published at Delhi in 1798, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great* in the Urdu translation of Surupanarayana in Delhi in 1837.

These I have not located. Delhi was not an important publishing centre before 1850. The following books, however, are known:

(1) Hollings, Lieut. George Edward. *Notes respecting Oudh*. pp. ii. 17. Delhi: Printed at the Gazette Press, by Kunniah Lall. 1841. 8°. Signed at the end: G. Hollings, Lieutenant. Lucknow, 14th July 1841. Copies in India Office Library and Serampore, William Carey Library.

(2) *Some Passages in the life of an Adventurer in the Punjaub*. Originally published in the Delhi Gazette, etc. [By Sir Henry M. Lawrence.] pp. iii. 275. Printed at the Gazette Press, by Kunniah Lall: Delhi, 1842. 8°.—Copies in British Museum and Calcutta, National Library.

(3) *The British Government and the Royal House of Delhi*. [Letters, signed 'T', reprinted from the Delhi Gazette.] Delhi, 1843.—The copy listed in the India Office Library catalogue has been missing for many years.

(4) Hollings, Lieut. George Edward. *A Paper regarding the Buddik Dacoits in Oude, written in 1839*. pp. iv. 18.

Printed at the Delhi Gazette Press, by Kunniah Lall: Delhi, [1844?] 8°.—India Office Library, Tr. 716(1).—The date 1839 in the India Office Library catalogue is wrong. The date 1840 is mentioned several times in the text, and the date 1844 is appended to one of the footnotes, proving that the book cannot have been printed before 1844.

All the above had appeared as articles in the *Delhi Gazette* before being reprinted in book-form. The *Delhi Gazette* seems to have been first issued not later than 1839.

FATEHGARH

One book of 1815 has sometimes been stated to have been printed at this small town, which lies approximately midway between Agra and Lucknow. It is however not certain, because an inspection of the India Office Library's copy (W 832) has shown that the book has no title-page and no imprint. The book consists of a report of 32 pages, followed by 106 pages of tables, on the internal revenue management of an Indian village called Bithergoun. The report is signed by H. Newnham at Futtighur (Fatehgarh) on 1st May 1815. There is thus no evidence in the book that it was printed there, and no one can say in fact where it was printed.

JAIPUR, ASSAM

It must be noted at once that this is not the famous city of Jaipur in Rajasthan (Rajputana), which seems to have had no printing in our period, but the very small town of Jaipur in Northern Assam, near Sibsagor. Deschamps, in his typically slovenly and unscholarly way, describes three towns which he calls Djeypour, Jaipur and Saipur, without linking them up in any way; they are all the same town, and they are all Jaipur in Assam. See chapter 6.

KIDDERPORE 1807

There is no need to repeat Deschamps' notes on early printing at Kidderpore; but as he is not even sure where it is, it should be stated here that Kidderpore is a suburb of Calcutta. The earliest book I have traced is a directory in the National Library at Calcutta:

A Directory and Almanack, for... 1807. 3 pt. Kidderpore: Orphan Press, 1807. 8°.

It is likely that other books were printed at Kidderpore about this time. Some of Deschamps' titles are undoubtedly genuine.

LUCKNOW 1822

As at nearby Cawnpore, early printing at Lucknow was largely in the Persian language, and some of the books were lithographed. The following is in the British Museum (Grenville 7663, 7664) and in the John Rylands Library, Manchester:

Ghazi al-Din Haidar, King of Oude. *The Seven Seas: a dictionary and grammar of the Persian language... in seven parts.* 2 vol. Lucknow: At His Majesty's Press, 1822. 4°.

MEERUT 1834

Very little printing took place here, but the following curious book has recently been donated to the British Museum:

Polyglot baby's own book, edited by Bartolozzi Brown, Gent. [Sir Henry Miers Elliot and Henry Whitelock Torrens], etc. [A lampoon on C. E. Trevelyan's letters to the 'dear Bengalee children' in his *Polyglott Fables*.] Printed by Greenway & Co., Meerutt Press: [Meerut, 1834.] 4°. A manuscript note in the B.M.'s copy reads:

‘Written by Elliot & Torrens in ridicule of Trevelyan’s letters to the ‘dear Bengalee Children’ and his *Polyglott Fables*.—The following appeared in the Meerut Paper, and was shortly after reprinted in Calcutta and Meerut in this form. 1834.’

It seems, therefore, that, as at Delhi, there was a newspaper printed at Meerut before any books appeared there. Greenway was probably connected with the firms bearing that name at Calcutta and Cawnpore (q.v.).

MIDNAPORE

There was probably no printing at Midnapore in our period. One imprint for Midnapore, of 1849, appears in the India Office Library catalogue, but the work in question, an official paper, was presumably printed in Calcutta:

Torrens, John Samuel. *Statistics of Zillah Midnapoor*, by J. S. Torrens, Esq., Collector. (At the end of the tables:) Midnapoor Collectorate, the 25th April 1849. (Colophon:) W. Palmer, Bengal Military Orphan Press.

MIRZAPORE 1846 (1845?)

The industrial city of Mirzapore seems to have printed a certain number of works on behalf of the neighbouring city of Benares at a time when the latter was without a press. The following are in the British Museum:

(1) Seventh Report of the Benares Provincial Church Missionary Association, and Orphan Seminary, from October 1, 1844, to September 30, 1845, *etc.* pp. 32. Orphan School Press: Mirzapore, 1846. 8°.

(2) *The Benares Magazine*. This was published at Mirzapore at least from 1848 to 1852. The B.M. has the first four volumes (1848–50), the first of which has the imprint: Mirzapore: Printed for the Proprietors, and sold by Messrs. Thacker & Co. Calcutta.

It was a very worthy and serious literary periodical, reviewing books which had only recently been published in England. The Superintendent of the Orphan School Press at Mirzapore in 1851 was R. C. Mather.

MONGEER (MONGHYR)

An entry in the old Imperial Library catalogue of Calcutta for a Mongeer imprint of 1819 seems to have been erroneous, for in the revised edition of that catalogue it is corrected to Calcutta: Nanda, Pandit. *Dattaka-Mimansa*. A treatise on adoption. pp. vi. 163. Calcutta, Messrs. Thacker & Co. [1819.] 8°.—Indian National Library, Calcutta, 171.C.27.

NAGERCOIL 1827

This tiny town, almost at the southernmost tip of India near Cape Comorin, had a Mission Press which printed the following book, and presumably others:

Rhenius, Carl Gottlieb Ewald. *An Essay on the Principles of translating the Holy Scriptures*, with critical remarks on various passages, particularly in reference to the Tamul language. By C.T.E. (*sic*) Rhenius, Missionary, Tinnevely. pp.58. Printed at the Mission Press: Nagercoil, 1827. 8°.—British Museum, 1333.e.32.

NAGPUR

Deschamps records: Breton, Peter. *Medico-Topography of Khamghur*. Nagpoor, 1826. 8°. I have not located a copy, and the two other books by the same author now in the British Museum were printed at Calcutta. The book is not in the Surgeon General's Library, U. S. A. Printing at Nagpur during this period seems, therefore, to be doubtful.

PATNA 1828

The Behar Amateur Lithographic Press was at work at Patna from 1828 to 1830, and probably longer; but apart from their lithographic productions I know of no other books printed at Patna at this time. They consisted mostly of the artistic works of Sir Charles D'Oyly, such as:

- (1) *Indian Sports*. (Illustrated in 27 plates.) Oblong folio, [1828?]
- (2) *Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrap Book*. (75 plates.)—The India Office has three sets, produced at Patna from 1828 to 1830. They are described as 'consisting of every variety of Oriental subjects'.

The capital of French East India, some one hundred miles south of Madras, was connected with publishing as early as 1781, although it is doubtful whether a printing-press was set up there in that year, as Deschamps maintains. The following book is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:

Nouvelle méthode... pour le traitement des personnes attaquées de la Rage, par le Fr. Claude du Choisel, de la C^{ie}. de Jésus, Apothicaire de la Mission de Pondichéry. Nouvelle édition.

Deschamps describes its imprint as 'A Pondichéry, & se trouve à Paris, chez Morin, rue S. Jacques, 1781, in 12° de 38 pp.' The Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue, on the other hand, says 'Paris, 1781', with no mention of Pondicherry. The British Museum has a copy of the same book, but with the date 1782 (probably a reissue, for the pagination is the same). This was clearly printed in Paris: the approbation is dated from Paris, 12 August 1781. Deschamps is wrong in thinking that it was printed by the Missionaries in Pondicherry. Probably both editions were printed in Paris and sold also in Pondicherry: certainly the B.M. copy of 1782 has Pondicherry on the title-page.

Certain later books seem to have been actually printed in Pondicherry, but one cannot be sure without seeing them. (All are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

(1) Aubineau Duplessis () *Manuel du Cipaye contenant quelques réflexions sur le parti que l'on pourrait tirer du militaire indien...* par M. Aubineau Duplessis. Pondichéry, 1784. 8°. (Two copies in B.N.)

(2) Lescallier, Daniel, Baron. *Proclamation des commissaires civils sur la loi du 17 octobre 1792 pour la prochaine convocation, etc.* [Signed: Lescallier. Pondichéry, le 17 octobre 1792.] pp.3. Pondichéry, 1792. 4°.—Paris, B.N., 4° Lk¹⁰.25. Evidently printed in Pondicherry if the proclamation was issued there.

(3) Lescallier, Daniel, Baron. *Discours prononcé aux troupes de Pondichéry, à l'occasion de la publication de l'amnistie*, par M. Lescallier... le 4 octobre 1792. pp.4. Pondichéry, 1792. 4°.—Paris, B.N., 4° Lk¹⁰.24.

(4) L'Étang, Antoine de. *The Practise (sic) of Farriery, calculated for the East Indies, collected from the best authors, etc.* [With an appendix, 'containing the names in the English, Hindoostanee and Malabar languages, of all the drugs', etc.] pp. 112.24. Pondicherry: Printed for the Author, 1795. 8°.—B.M., 7293.bb.25.

In none of these Pondicherry books is the printer named. It seems certain, however, that a press, or presses, was active intermittently at Pondicherry from 1784 onwards.

POONA

In 1821 the British founded the Sanskrit-Hindu College and set up a press, but according to Deschamps printing seems to go back before the British occupation. He quotes only one book in Sanskrit dated 1799, and one in Mahratti 'lithographed at the Press of the Poona College' in 1835. There seems to be no evidence of books printed in a Western language at Poona in the early period.

'SAIPUR'

For this non-existent place described by Deschamps, see Ch. 6, JAIPUR, Assam.

SIBSAGOR (SIBSAGAR), ASSAM.

See Chapter 6.

SURAT 1821

To quote from Birrell & Garnett's Catalogue XXXVIII on Colonial Printing: 'Surat is on the Gulf of Cambay north of Bombay. Printing was first started there by the Baptist missionaries working for the Bombay Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The first book printed there was the New Testament in Gujarati, 1821. It is in eight parts, octavo.' St. Matthew's Gospel was translated by John Taylor, and the rest by J. Skinner and W. Fyvie. St. Matthew's Gospel had been printed at Serampore in 1809 and the whole New Testament in 1820, but in the Devanagri character and in a form of the language not generally understood in the Gujarat. Hence the need for this edition printed at Surat.

The following book is in the British Museum:

Nīlakantha Mimamsakabhāṭṭa, *Son of Sankara. The Vyuvuharu Muyookhu, an authentic and complete treatise, embracing all the heads of Hindoo law, applicable to the*

topics of civil and criminal jurisprudence, and of extensive authority in Western India. Translated from the original by Harry Borradaile, Esquire, of the Bombay Civil Service, Published under the authority of the Bombay Government. pp. xv.x. 214. Surat: Printed at the Mission Press, 1827. 4°.—B.M., 14038.e.7.

TANJORE

The British and Foreign Bible Society may have set up a press here as early as 1808, but only Sanskrit works are recorded by Deschamps for this town.

TREVANDRUM 1839

The present capital of the southernmost state of India, Kerala, and seat of a university, had little printing in our period, but there is one ephemeral work in the British Museum:

A Calendar for the leap-year 1840, adapted for the meridian of Trevandrum. English and Malayalam. (A Calendar for the year 1841. An Astronomical Ephemeris for the year 1841, adapted to the meridian of the Observatory at Trevandrum.) Trevandrum: Printed at the Government Press, 1839-40. 8°.—B.M., 8562.cc.13.

Early Printing in Assam

Assam¹ was formerly independent, but in 1822 was added to the Burmese empire, and after 1826 was wholly under British rule. The American Baptist Missionary Society chose the Rev. Nathan Brown and Mr. Cutter² to go as the first missionaries to Assam, and the place chosen as the first mission station was Sadiya, north east of Sibsagar, not far from the Tibetan border. They reached Calcutta with their families in September, 1835, and there provided themselves with a printing press, a standing press, a hundred reams of paper and other materials needed for printing. They reached Sadiya on 23 March 1836, and when setting up their first press they decided to print the Assamese language in roman characters. Mr. Cutter soon printed a spelling book for the use of the local schools, and Mr. Brown began to prepare works for the press both in Assamese and in several dialects of the Shyan.

On 17 October 1836 the Rev. Miles Bronson and the Rev. Jacob Thomas with their wives sailed from Boston for Calcutta to join the mission in Assam. They took the additional printing press which had been promised, together with a full supply of all the requisite materials for printing. They arrived at Calcutta on 11 April 1837. On their way by river to Sadiya, Mr. Thomas was drowned in the Brahmaputra, but Mr. Bronson arrived safely. Mr. Cutter was constantly employed from July 1837 onwards with the two presses now at the station. I have not yet located a copy of a book printed at Sadiya.

1. For the whole of this chapter see William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America* (Boston, 1849), chapter XVII (pp. 211-226, with a good map), entitled 'Mission in Assam'.

2. I have not been able satisfactorily to identify Mr. Cutter. J. Clement in his biography of Rev. Adoniram Judson refers to him as Oliver T. Cutter, while Deschamps calls him 'H. B. C. Cutter'. He is not mentioned by Benjamin Cutter in his very detailed book, *A History of the Cutter family of New England*, revised and enlarged by William Richard Cutter (Boston, 1871); thus it is to be pre-

In May, 1838, Mr. Bronson and family moved to Jaipur, one of the principal river-ports of the East India Company in Assam, and soon the whole mission decided to transfer to Jaipur. Mr. Brown completed his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Assamese and Khamti, while Mr. Cutter, having been to Calcutta for a supply of additional type, returned in April, 1839, and began printing the books which had been prepared for him. Another new missionary, the Rev. Cyrus Barker, moved to Sibsagar in May, 1841, and in July was joined by the Browns. Sibsagar, which had a population of eight thousand, was the best centre for tea growing, and had a better climate than anywhere else in the area. Major Francis Jenkins, Commissioner of the Governor General of India for Assam, presented a large printing press to the mission at Sibsagar, and five hundred rupees annually for its support. Mr. Cutter still continued to print at Jaipur. School books, the Gospels of Matthew and John, together with the Acts of the Apostles, all of which had been translated by Mr. Brown, were carried through the press by the early summer of 1842. But in the winter of 1842-43 Jaipur was attacked by native insurgents, and Mr. Cutter had to dismantle the presses and hide them away with all the types belonging to the establishment. The presses were moved to Sibsagar in November 1843, and Jaipur was abandoned.

The following Jaipur imprints are recorded:

(1) Bronson, Miles. *Phrases in English and Nága*. pp.29. Jaipur: American Baptist Mission Press, 1839. 12°.—British Museum, 12901.aa.25(1).

(2) Cutter's *Vocabulary and phrases in English and Asamese*. pp.251. 12°. Jaipur, 1840.—Recorded by Deschamps, who gives Cutter's initials as H.B.C. I have not located a copy.

(3) *Asamese*. [Title in Assamese.] *What Scriptures are Authentic*. [A Christian tract.] Jaipur: American Baptist Mission Press. 1843. 8°. Six leaves only. First edition of three thousand copies.—British Museum, 14135.aa.5.

[N.B. The word 'Assamese' was at that period regularly spelt with only one s.]

Eventually the whole New Testament was translated by Mr. Brown and printed by Mr. Cutter. At Sibsagar Messrs. Brown and Cutter also initiated a monthly journal of a religious and miscellaneous character entitled *Orunodoi*, or 'Rising Dawn', the first number of which appeared in January, 1846.

sumed that he belonged to a different family of Cutters, probably also in the Boston area. He is also identified as O. T. Cutter by Darlow and Moule (no. 1872).

The following is a list of the Sibsagar books which I have seen :

(1) *First Arithmetic, in Asamese*. [Title in Assamese.] By Mrs. E. W. Brown. Sibsagor, Asam: Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press. 1845.—B.M., 14135.b.17.

(2) *Bible.—Gospels.—Selections*. [Title in Assamese.] Sibsagor: Printed at the Mission Press. 1846. 8°. Six leaves.—B.M., 14135.aa.8.

(3) *The Orunudoï*, a monthly magazine devoted to religion, science, and general intelligence. Sibsagor, Asam: Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press. Volumes in the British Museum, at 14135.d.2, dated 1846–50, 1851–53, 1856–57. With copious illustrations. Contents-lists in English, text in Assamese only.

(4) Brown, Nathan. *Grammatical Notices of the Asamese language*. pp.xxvi.80. Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press. Sibsagor, 1848.8°.—India Office Library, T. 6643; British Museum, 12906.d.11.

(5) *The New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*: translated into the Asamese language by Nathan Brown, American Baptist Missionary. Second edition. pp.785. Sibsagor, Asam: Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press, for the American and Foreign Bible Society. 1849. 8°.—British Museum, 14135.aa.26.

The first edition is not in the British Museum. It was printed in 1847 (Darlow & Moule 1872). The third edition was published in 1850 at the same press, and two copies are in the British Museum.

The following book by the Rev. Miles Bronson should also be noted:

A Dictionary in Assamese and English. First edition. pp. vii.609. Printed at the American Baptist Mission Press, Sibsagor, in 1867, the edition consisted of eight hundred copies. The printer's name is given as W. Ward.¹ Mr. Bronson, writing his preface at Nowgong on August 12th, 1867, remarks that he has now been in Assam for more than thirty years, and that this is the first dictionary of Assamese ever published. He adds: 'Should health and means permit, a second volume, the corresponding English and Assamese, will follow.' But evidently it did not follow; only the first part is in the British Museum and the Library of Congress. Mr. Bronson died in 1883, aged seventy-one.

¹ Could this be the same W Ward who had printed exactly thirty years previously at Agra?

PRINTING IN CEYLON

Ceylon under Dutch Rule

1

*Ceylon under Dutch Rule*¹

Ceylon was under Dutch rule when its Governor, Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff, encouraged the Dutch East India Company to provide a press for the missionaries of the Dutch Church there. This was in 1736, and the first book to leave the new press, in 1737, was a Sinhalese Prayer Book in octavo format, followed in 1738 by a Confession of Faith, and one volume containing a Catechism and Prayers, and another with the Four Gospels, in 1739. Thus Ceylon saw the printing of books many years earlier than anywhere in India, except for the Jesuit presses of Goa and a few small places in the South.

Ceylon was a full forty years before Bengal or Madras in witnessing the printing of books, and its first books are exceedingly handsome, especially the first two volumes, which will be described in more detail below. Throughout the eighteenth century we find books printed at Colombo, having their title-pages always in Dutch, followed by the text, usually in Sinhalese, but sometimes in Tamil. Ceylon was taken from the Dutch by the British in 1796 and became a British Crown Colony. Among the eighteenth-century books printed at Colombo I have not seen a single one which is printed entirely in Dutch, but only the titles and sometimes the tables of contents. This shows that the Dutch printers almost always intended the books to be read by the Buddhist and Moslem inhabitants of the island. McMurtrie lists thirty titles printed between 1737 and 1760, adding four more titles quoted from Deschamps as printed between 1742 and 1744. Of these thirty-four books, sixteen are said to be in Sinhalese, fourteen in Tamil, two of 1756 in Dutch, and two, of 1756 and 1760, in Portuguese. McMurtrie wrote that these lists had been supplied to him through the courtesy of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), and that

1. See: Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Memorandum on the first printing in Ceylon. With a bibliography of Ceylonese imprints of 1737-1760*. Chicago, privately printed, 1931.

these books 'are to be found either in the Colombo Museum or in the British Museum.' But he failed to mention that there are at least three more books in the British Museum printed in Colombo between 1760 and 1790. It is true that printing there tailed off considerably from 1760 to the end of the century. Nor does McMurtrie give the imprint of any of the books, because he did not see them. Therefore it is not my intention here to repeat his lists, but simply to describe the books I have myself seen in the British Museum. I have not written to Ceylon for details of books which are not in the British Museum.

The first book printed at Colombo, of which there is a handsome copy on permanent exhibition in the King's Library at the British Museum, is *Singaleesch Gebeede-Boek* (Sinhalese Prayer Book) of 1737. It is bound after a copy of the 1738 *Singaleesch Belydenis Boek* (Sinhalese Confession Book). The translator of the first is unknown; the second may have been translated by the missionary J. P. Wetzelius. In each case the title-page is occupied by the title printed in red and black, but there is no imprint. On the verso of both title-pages are tables of contents in Dutch, and the rest is entirely in Sinhalese, printed in large, bold characters. There is a black device or vignette on the second leaf bearing the word COLOMBO, and in the first book the date appears in arabic figures in black, while in the second it is in roman figures in red. Nowhere in these two books do we find the name of the printer. There are ornaments of leaves and a flower at the end of each part. The press-mark of the British Museum's copy of these two volumes bound together is Or. 70. b. 30, and they are catalogued under 'Netherlands, Reformed Church'.

In 1739 a book of Catechism and Prayers was printed in Tamil; and in the same year the press began to issue the New Testament in Sinhalese, beginning with the Four Gospels, translated by Willem Konyn and edited by J. P. Wetzelius. The imprint of this is 'Gedrukt tot COLOMBO, in 's Compagnies Boek-Drukkerye, 1739' (printed at Colombo, in the [Dutch East India] Company's Printing Shop). The second volume in the British Museum set, containing the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, revised by Henricus Philipsz and Johan Joachim Fybrands, belongs to a later edition, for its various title-pages are dated 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1776. All bear the same printer's name: 'Te Colombo, In 's Compagnies Drukkery, Door Johan Frederik Christoph Dornheim.' The printer of the 1739 part is not named. In fact, I have not found the Dutch printer's name before 1753.

The next few books in the British Museum are:

INHOUD.

CL. KORTE VRAGEN EN ANT-
WOORDEN, BETREFFENDE
DE VOORNAAMSTE GROND-
WAARHEDEN DES CHRIS-
TYKEN GELOOFS.

HET GEBED DES HEEREN.
DE XII ARTYKELEN DES GE-
LOOFS.

DE X. GEBODEN GODS.

TWEE KORTE GEBEDEN
VOOR, EN TWEE, NAAR
DEN EETEN.

EEN KORT MORGEN, EN A-
VOND GEBED.

WAAR AGTER NOG VOLGEN,
VIER VRAGEN, DE WELKE
MOETEN B'ANTWOORD EN-
DE OPREGTELYK TOE GE-
STEMT WORDEN, VAN DIE-
GEENE, DIE MEN TOT HET
H. AVONDMAAL WIL TOE-
LAATEN.

BENEEVENS EEN KRAGTIGE
ZEEGEN, EN GEBED, WEL-
KE OVER SULKE PERSONEN,
VOOR DE GEMEENTE, KUN-
NEN WORDEN UITGESPRO-
KEN.

2
නිසංසිද්ධානි ඇදිහිලෙල ၃-

မေးခွန်းနှင့် နာခံရမှု

ဟောတယ်



နိဗ္ဗာန်သို့ ဆွဲယူသော လမ်း

ဆရာတော် အဘိုးကြီးတို့၏ ဝမ်း

MDCCXXXVIII ခုနှစ်၊ ဇန်နဝါရီလ

(1) The Gospel of St. Matthew in Tamil:

Het Heylige Evangelium Onzes Heeren en Zaligmakers Jesu Christi, na de beschryvinge van den Heiligen Apostel en Evangelist Mattheus, uyt de oorspronkelijke Griekse; in de Mallabaarse tale overgebracht, en behoorlyk na Kerken ordre gerevideert. [Translated by Adolphus Cramer.] Gedrukt tot COLOMBO, In 's Compagnies Druckerye, Anno 1741. 4°.—B.M. 14170.cc.15.

(2) Kort ontwerp van de leere der waarheid die na de Godsaligheyd is, overgeset in de Singaleese tale ten dienste van de Christelijke Singaleesche Gemeentens door den Praedicant Johannes Philippus Wetzelijs. Synde ook na Kerk Ordre behoorlyk gerevideert. Met het drucken een eynde gemaakt in de Maand April, tot COLOMBO, in 's Compagnies gewoone Druckery anno 1744. 8°.—B. M. 14165.a.27.

(3) Singaleesch Formulier Boek. Behelsende vier formulieren, namentlyk: van de kinderen, bejaarden, 't houwelyk ende het avondmaal, etc. Met het drucken een eynde gemaakt in de Maand van October, tot COLOMBO, in 's Compagnies gewoone Druckery Anno 1744. 8°.—B.M. 14165.a.32.

(4) Melho (Philippus de): Triumph der waarheid, zynde eene... wederlegging van de voornaamste dwaalingen der Roomsche Kerke, med verdediginge van de daar tegen gestelde Catholyke waarheid, die in de gereformeerde kerke geleerd word... in de Tamulsche taale opgesteld... door Philippus de Melho. Gedrukt te COLOMBO in 's Compagnies gewoone drukkerij door Johann Bernhardt Arnhardt. Anno 1753. 8°.—B.M. 14170.b.61.

(5) Heidelberg Catechism in Tamil:

Catechismus, ofte Onderweyzing in de Christelicke leere, die in de hervormde kerken en scholen geleerd word... in de Tamulsche spraak overgezet en... in 't licht gegeven door Sigisbertus Abrahamsz. Bronsveld. Gedrukt in 's Comps: gewoone Drukkerye door Johann Bernhardt Arnhardt. Anno 1754. 4°.—B.M. 14170.b.62.

(6) Perera (Anthony) and De Saram (Louis): Singaleesch-Gezangboekje, behelsende het Gebed des Heeren. De Tien Geboden. Psalm drie en-twintig... In den Jaare 1723. door de Modliaars Anthony Perera en Louis de Saram op de Digt-en-Zangmaat Petri Datheni gestelt, etc. COLOMBO, gedrukt in 's Comps: gewoone—Drukkery Anno 1755, in de Maand January. Door Johann Bernhardt Arnhardt. 8°.—B.M. 14165.a.30.

(7) The New Testament in Tamil:

Het Nieuw Testament, ofte alle de boeken des Nieuwen Verbonds van onsen Heer Jesus Christus. Door last van de Hooge overheid deeses eilands uit de oir-spronglyke Grieksche taal in de Tamulsche spraak overgezet, en naar kerken-order behoorlyk overzien. [Translated chiefly by Philippus de Melho.] Gedrukt te COLOMBO in 's Comps: gewoone Drukkery door Pieter Bruwaart. A°: 1759. The preface, signed 'Sigisb. Abrah. Bronsveld' and 'J. J. Fybrands', is dated Colombo, 24 December, 1759.—B.M. Or. 71.d.8.

(8) Heidelberg Catechism in Tamil, second edition:

Catechismus, ofte Onderweyzing in de Christelicke leere... De tweede druk. Gedrukt in 's Comps: gewoone Drukkerye door Johann Fredrik Christoph Dornheim. Anno 1769. 4°.—B.M. 14170.b.63.

(9) Kort ontwerp van de leere der waarheid... overgeset in de Singaleese tale... door... Johannes Philippus Wetzelius... Nu weder van Drukfouten gesuivert, door en Herdrukt onder opzigt van den Proponent Henricus Christoffel Philipsz. Te COLOMBO in de Maand December 1790. In 's Compagnies Boekdrukkery by Johan Fredrik Christnau.—B.M. 14165.aa.4.

I have not here attempted an exhaustive check-list of Colombo imprints for the eighteenth century, but I have probably named enough books to show that the Dutch East India Company's press maintained a regular output of printing from 1737 to 1760, and on a reduced scale from 1760 to 1790. Their press-work was good, and they used red printing as well as a variety of typographical ornaments which are unique to Ceylon. They also printed on paper of good quality.

Ceylon under the British

After the British had taken Ceylon from the Dutch in 1796, the Honourable the Governor in Council of Madras administered the government of the island from 16 February 1796 until 12 October 1798, when the Hon. Frederick North (later Fifth Earl of Guilford) was posted to Ceylon as Governor. Later Governors were:

19 July 1805: Lieut. Gen. the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland.

19 March 1811: Major General John Wilson.

11 March 1812: General Sir Robert Brownrigg.

1 February 1820: Major Gen. Sir Edward Barnes.

It was a few years before the Government set up a printing press. The earliest printed official documents issued under British rule in Ceylon and now in the British Museum are a set of Regulations of Government, no. 1-18 of 1812, proclamations and government advertisements of 1811 and 1812, printed in folio, without imprint, but evidently in Colombo in 1813. Then there is the *Ceylon Calendar*, of which the Museum has an imperfect set, the earliest volume being that for 1814. This valuable reference book was continued under four changes of title until 1861. The 1814 issue gives the following interesting details:

In 1814 the Head Printer at the Government Press in Colombo was Mr. Frans de Bruin. He had five English compositors, one Singalese compositor, one Malabar compositor, four pressmen, one assistant Singalese compositor, five assistant pressmen, one additional assistant Singalese compositor, one additional assistant Malabar compositor and two supernumeraries, making a staff of twenty-two men in all.

At the Bookbinders' Office were one master bookbinder, Mr. H. P. Claessen, eight binders, and two supernumeraries. In the type-foundry were one type-master and engraver, Mr. K. M. Cramer, and two type-casters.

One of the five English compositors in 1814 was Mr. Nicholas Bergman, who

by the following year, 1815, had become Head Printer, remaining in this post until at least 1830. There were still 22 men on the staff in 1823. An important book published at the Government Press in 1815 (with Nicholas Bergman's name in the imprint) is James Chater's *Grammar of the Cingalese language*, with 141 pages; it is the first grammar of that language to have been compiled by an Englishman and printed in the island. The author dedicated it to the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, at Colombo on 18 November 1815.

The following important book should also be noted:

A Collection of the legislative acts of his Majesty's Government of Ceylon; containing proclamations and regulations, issued since 15th January 1799, and wholly, or in part in force, on 31st May 1821; arranged under their various heads. pp. 336. Colombo: Printed at the Government Press by N. Bergman. [1821.] 4°.—British Museum, C.S. B. 11.

But before these books were published, it is recorded by McMurtrie that the first periodical publication was the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, which was first issued in 1802.¹ (This I have not seen.) A newspaper, the *Ceylon Observer*, was established in 1834 and became a daily in the eighteen-sixties.

We now turn to the work of the missionaries. The following account is given by Tennent²:

The first missionaries who arrived in Ceylon after its occupation by the English were the three Germans sent out in 1804 by the London Missionary Society. These were followed in 1812 by a deputation from the eminent establishment of the Baptists at Serampore; and two years later, in 1814, by the Wesleyans, led by Dr. Coke, who expired on the voyage. To these were added, in 1818, four ordained missionaries of the Church of England. The Wesleyans went in 1814 to Jaffna, followed in 1816 by American missionaries, and in 1818 by a clergyman of the Church of England...

The old chapels and ecclesiastical buildings of the Portuguese and Dutch now rose into unexpected importance, and were assigned by the Government to the Americans, as well as to the Wesleyan and Church of England missionaries, for churches and schools.

'In 1820 the success of the American mission in these conjoint objects had been already so decided that it became necessary to form a printing establishment for the supply of the books and

1. The British Museum Newspaper Library has the *Ceylon Government Gazette* from no. 3051 (29 August 1857) onwards. It is a weekly: but 3,051 weeks before August 29th, 1857, seems to take one back rather earlier than the year 1802.

2. See Sir James Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, London, John Murray, 1850, pp. 107, 112.

translations required for the use of their schools; but by some singular misconception on the part of the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, the mission was uncourteously refused the permission to use their own types; and the printer, who had actually arrived from America, was ordered within three months to take his departure from Ceylon. The printing-presses were handed over to the missionaries of the Church of England, and for several years afterwards the liberty to use them was withheld from the Americans. This unwise decision was ultimately rescinded by Sir R. W. Horton in 1832; a printing establishment was organized by the mission at Manepy, and from that single institution there have since been issued no less than one hundred and thirty million pages of instruction and enlightenment in English and Tamil for the natives of Ceylon.

It seems that the Wesleyan Mission Press started to function in 1815. The most important of the early books printed by this press are:

(1) *The Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments*. In English and Cinhalese. For the use of native schools. Colombo: Printed by and for the Wesleyan Missionaries. 1817. The English and Singalese are on opposite pages.

(2) *The Holy Bible*, translated into Singhalese [by W. Tolfrey, A. Armour, J. Chater and B. Clough] and printed under the direction of the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society. Colombo, Wesleyan Mission Press, 1819, 1817-1823. 4°. The New Testament was printed first, in 1817.

(3) *A Cingalese Word Book: or a Collection of words from one to five syllables: alphabetically arranged. To which is added, a Series of conversations in easy language*. Printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo, 1818.—With the exception of the title, the book is in Singalese throughout.

(4) *The First Book of Moses called Genesis*. pp.69. Colombo, Printed for the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society, at the Wesleyan Mission-Press. 1819. 8°.

(5) Chater, James. *An Introduction to Reading, in Singhalese and English; intended as a help to teaching English to the children of Ceylon*. pt.1. pp. viii.105. 1819. 8°.

(6) *Prayers selected from the Liturgy of the Church of England*; and translated into Singhalese for the use of the Wesleyan Mission Native Free Schools in Ceylon. By Benjamin Clough... The second edition. pp. 15. 1819. 8°.

(7) *The Singhalese Translation of the New Testament*. [Translated by W. Tolfrey and A. Armour, assisted by a committee. Second edition, corrected.] pp. 670. Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society, 1820. 8°.

(8) *Sermons principally designed for children*. By a Lady. Translated into Singhalese by Rev. Benjamin Clough. pp. iv.172.19. 1820. 12°.

(9) Clough, Benjamin. *A Dictionary of the English and Singhalese, and Singhalese and English languages*. 2 vol. 1821, 1830. 4°.

(10) Cruden, Alexander. *A Brief Account of the History and Excellency of the Scriptures...* Translated into Singhalese by the Rev. Robert Newstead. pp. 33. 1822. 8°.

There is no need to quote more titles of books printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, which continued for many years. Mention might be made, however, of one curious little book in the British Museum, because it is in Danish, and bears the imprint 'Kolombo, 1821.' The author is Rasmus Christian Nielsen Rask, who was born in 1787 and died in November, 1832. In November 1820 he went from Bombay to Calcutta, and arrived in Ceylon in 1821. His little book of only 16 pages, entitled *Singalesisk Skriftlaere*, bears on the verso of the title a statement containing the date 1828. Probably, then, the text was printed at Colombo in 1821 and the title-page in Copenhagen in 1828. It is a small but insoluble bibliographical problem.

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PRINTING IN CEYLON OUTSIDE COLOMBO

McMurtrie writes (*op. cit.*, p.6): 'Printing was introduced at Mellore in 1818.' But one may well ask, Where is Mellore, and what was printed there? (Mellore must be an error for Nellore: see below.)

COTTA

'At Cotta', writes McMurtrie, 'six miles southeast of Colombo, a press was established by the Church Missionary Society in 1822.' He then says no more. The first Church of England missionary at Cotta was the Rev. Samuel Lambrick, and according to Tennent, Cotta was selected as the seat of missionary operations in 1823. Probably the most important books printed there are:

(1) Lambrick, Samuel. *An Essay to shew that every version of the Holy Scripture should conform to the original in adopting one word throughout for each of the personal pronouns*. By the Rev. S. Lambrick, Church Missionary in Ceylon. pp. 14. Cotta, Printed at the Church Mission Press, 1826. 8°.

(2) *The Holy Bible*, translated into Singhalese by missionaries from the Church

Missionary Society [i.e. Samuel Lambrick and J. Selkirk]. pp. 52.540.72.308.190. 112. Cotta Church Mission Press, 1834, 32.—Generally classified as the 'Cotta version'. The New Testament was printed first, in 1832. Another edition followed, in two parts, from the same press in 1846.

(3) Bailey, Benjamin. *Subjection to superiors*. A sermon preached at St. Peter's Church, Colombo, before his Excellency the Governor... on Sunday, September 29, 1833, etc. pp.31. Cotta Church Mission Press, 1833. 8°.—Other sermons by the Rev. Bailey were also printed at Cotta.

(4) Chitty, Simon Casie. *The Ceylon Gazetteer*: containing an accurate account of the districts, provinces, cities... &c. of the island of Ceylon. pp.viii.286.xxi. Cotta Church Mission Press, 1834. 8°.

(5) Lambrick, Samuel. *A Grammar of the Singhalese language*... The second edition, with numerous alterations. pp.155. Cotta Church Mission Press, 1834. 8°.—The author's preface dated: Cotta, December 17, 1834.

KANDY

It is not certain exactly when the Baptist Mission Press started work at Kandy, but by 1841 books were being issued and the following are in the British Museum:

(1) *The Investigator*; or Monthly magazine of literature, politics, science and religion. Vol.1. 1841; vol 2. 1842. Kandy: Printed and published at the Baptist Mission House.—The preface to vol. 1 is dated Kandy, Dec. 1st. 1841. Vol.1, no.1, is dated May, 1841; Vol.2, no.5, is dated May, 1842.

(2) *Proceedings of the Ceylon Agricultural Society for the half year ending the 1st of July, 1842*. Baptist Mission press, Kandy, 1842.

JAFFNA

The Wesleyans first went to Jaffna in 1814. The following account was written by the American missionary, Rev. Miron Winslow: 'In 1825 a press was established in Jaffna by the Church Missionaries. At this, not only catechisms, and other books for the schools, were printed, but, by the aid in part of the London and American Tract Societies, a variety of tracts were also published: they were mostly original, and prepared with special reference to the circumstances and habits of thinking of

the natives. Besides occasional tracts, and broadsheets, the number of the regular series amounted at this time to more than forty; and those for children, to ten or twelve. The Episcopalian, Wesleyan, and American missionaries were unitedly concerned in their publication.’¹

These two books are in the British Museum:

(1) *The New Testament* of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the Tamil language, etc. pp.670. Printed at the American Mission Press, for the Jaffna Auxiliary Bible Society: Jaffna, 1843. 8°. Rhenius’ version.

(2) Uḷlamuḍaiyān. *The Oriental Astronomer*: being a complete system of Hindu astronomy, accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes. With an appendix. [Parahitam, the original work in Sanskrit, the author of which has not been traced, is said to have been translated into Tamil by Uḷlamuḍaiyān, from which the English translation was made by H. R. Hoisington, missionary.] pp. 177.145. American Mission Press: Jaffna, 1848. 8°.

NELLORE

This is a village and parish of Jaffna, in the province of Waligam. I quote from Chitty’s account:

‘Its population is estimated at 5180, and consists of agriculturists, mechanics, traders... This village is the principal station of the Church Missionaries in Jaffna, who have a very pretty church, a school house, and printing press, from which a great number of tracts in the Tamul language, has been from time to time issued, on account of the Jaffna Auxiliary Religious Tract Society.’²

And from the American report of 1834:

‘There are two presses belonging to the mission, with founts of type in Tamul and English. It is placed at Manepy, as more central than Batticotta. The press at Nellore, under the care of Rev. Mr. Knight, Church missionary, has been much employed by our mission in printing books and tracts. Our own printing establishment, which began to operate in January last, will stimulate the preparation of works for the press.’³

1. Miron Winslow, *A Memoir of Mrs. Harriet W. Winslow, combining a sketch of the Ceylon Mission*, London, 1838, p.301.

2. S. C. Chitty, *The Ceylon Gazetteer*, Cotta, 1834, pp.172-3.

3. Appendix, abstracted from Report of American Board of Missions, dated 8 October 1834, in Miron Winslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-5.

EARLY PRINTING IN BURMA

The story of the first printing-presses in Burma is really the story of the American Baptist missions, and in particular the story of the greatest of the American missionaries to Burma, the Rev. Adoniram Judson, of whom at least ten biographies have been written. The present account is taken mainly from the work of J. Clement,¹ as well as from the books themselves, of which the British Museum has a good collection.

Adoniram Judson was born at Malden, Massachusetts, on 9 August, 1788, and soon decided to become a missionary, not worrying at first to what corner of the globe the authorities might send him. He arrived at Calcutta on 18 June 1812 and at Rangoon on 14 July 1813. Rangoon then had a population of about 40,000. Early European and American settlers in Burma suffered terribly from tropical diseases, and the death rate among the missionaries, especially among their wives and children, was pathetically high. Another American missionary, the Rev. George Henry Hough, who was also a trained printer, came to Calcutta in 1816 and was delayed there for some time. The Baptist missionaries of Serampore presented the new Burmese mission with a press, and a 'font of Burman types, together with the apparatus necessary for printing.'

The press arrived at Rangoon about the first of August, 1816. Judson wrote: 'The press which has just arrived from Bengal, will not probably be allowed to stop long in Rangoon. This will open a wide field, and make it necessary to support two stations.' He said that a tract was ready for publication, explaining to the Burmese who

1. J. Clement, *Memoir of Adoniram Judson: being a sketch of his life and missionary labors*. pp.336. Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1851. Cf. especially pp. 59, 62, 115, 128, 195-8, 208, 211, 218, 237, 247-8 and 319. See also William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America*, Boston, Mass., 1849, a book of which the first fifteen chapters deal with the Missions in Burma.

the Saviour Jesus Christ really was; at the same time a grammar was finished, and a Burmese dictionary was well on the way to completion. Mr. Hough reached Rangoon on 15 October. 'Soon after the arrival of the printer whom God had sent to work the donated press, the tract already mentioned, together with a catechism which Mr. Judson had also prepared, was printed; and the Gospel of Matthew was shortly after put to press.'

These first products of the press in Rangoon were printed entirely in Burmese. The translation was Judson's own: by the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight he had sufficiently mastered the Burmese language for his self-appointed task, and he was determined to translate the whole Bible into Burmese. There is a copy of his *Matthew* in the British Museum. It has ff. 52, and the date 1817 is given in Burmese. There is also an edition of the *Acts of the Apostles*, in two parts, dated 1826, but the catalogue gives Rangoon with a query as the place of printing, because it is not certain how long a press actually operated there. Nothing in English seems to have been printed at Rangoon for many years. Mr. Hough's press, in fact, soon had to be taken back to Bengal, and shortly after 13 December 1821 Mr. and Mrs. Hough returned to Burma from Serampore, again with their press. In August, 1823, Judson wrote: 'Brother Hough has not yet been able to get types from Bengal; no printing, therefore, has been done since his return. I hope it will not be long before the Gospel and Epistles of John are printed. They have been ready for the press above a year, and have been so thoroughly and repeatedly revised, that I flatter myself that subsequent translators will not find it necessary to make many alterations.'

Judson was joined by another missionary from America, the Rev. Jonathan Wade, whose main contribution was destined to be made among the Karens. Towards the end of the year 1829, it is recorded that 'after twelve or fifteen months' close study, they [i.e. Judson and Wade] had thoroughly revised the New Testament and the Epitome of the Old, and had ready for press no less than twelve other smaller works.' These Mr. Judson enumerates as follows in his journal for November 29th, 1829:

(1) *The Catechism of Religion*. This has already passed through two editions, in Burmese. It has also been translated and printed in Siamese, and translated in Taling or Peguese.

(2) *The View of the Christian Religion*; thoroughly revised for the fourth edition, in Burmese. It has also been translated in Taling and Siamese.

- (3) *The Order of Worship of the Burman Church.*
- (4) *The Baptismal Service.*
- (5) *The Marriage Service.*
- (6) *The Funeral Service:* the three last consist chiefly of extracts from Scripture
- (7) *The Teacher's Guide;* or a digest of those parts of the New Testament which relate to the duty of teachers of religion; designed particularly for native pastors.
- (8) *A Catechism of Astronomy.*
- (9) *A Catechism of Geography.*
- (10) *A Table of Chronological History;* or a Register of principal events from the creation to the present time.
- (11) *The Memoir of Mee Shwa-ee* [a little Burmese girl, rescued from slavery at Amherst].
- (12) *The Golden Balance;* or the Christian and Buddhist systems contrasted. This has been translated in Taling.

At the time the above was written, says Clement, the Gospel of St. Matthew, which had been translated into Siamese by Mrs. Judson, was being translated into Taling by an assistant in that department named Ko Man-poke.

'It will be seen that there was printing enough to do; but as yet there was no press at Maulmain. All work of this kind had to be sent to Serampore, which seriously impeded the progress of the mission... Advertised of the wants of the mission, the Board sent out Mr. Cephas Bennett, a practical printer, who arrived at Maulmain, with a press and types, on the 14th of January 1830. His wife and two children accompanied him. He forthwith commenced operations, and the works most needed were soon put to press.'

Moulmein (as we now spell it) became the most important printing centre in Burma, and for many years to come books were printed there while there was no printing at Rangoon. Judson wrote: 'Brother Bennett works day and night at press; but he is unable to supply us; for the call is great at Maulmain and Tavoy, as well as here, and his types are very poor, and he has no efficient help.' (This was written in a letter of 4 March 1831.) But by the end of 1831, says Clement, 'at least two hundred thousand copies of books and tracts have now been scattered through the realms of Buddhism, and are silently performing their mighty work.' In the spring of 1832, Mr. Bennett was joined by Mr. Oliver T. Cutter, a printer (whose name we have

met in the history of printing in Assam), who took with him a power press. In April of the same year, Mr. Bennett began the publication of the New Testament, and the last sheet of an edition of three thousand copies was printed on the 19th of December following. Before the power press could be put into use, or Mr. Cutter had learned the language, he lost his instructor; and about this time Mr. Bennett was obliged to move temporarily to Rangoon to supply a vacancy occasioned by the departure of Mr. Kincaid (another missionary) to Ava, the northern capital. Mr. Kincaid was joined here in January, 1834, by Mr. Cutter, who took with him a printing press.

Clement goes on: 'On the 29th of June, 1832, the ship *Fenelon* sailed from Boston with Rev. Thomas Simons, Mr. and Mrs. Royal B. Hancock, and Miss Sarah Cummings. They arrived at Maulmain on 1st January 1833... Mr. Hancock, who was a printer and stereotyper, took with him two presses, a large quantity of type, and the materials for a type foundry. A spacious and substantial printing establishment was soon erected at Maulmain, where it still stands, and, by the thunderings of its presses, is shaking the pagodas of south-eastern Asia.'

Judson's translation of the whole Bible into Burmese was completed on 31st January, 1834. The last page of the first edition of the Old Testament was printed on 29th December 1835. Mr. Judson then completed the revision of the Burmese Bible in the autumn of 1840, and the last sheet was put to press on the 24th October. The first edition had been printed in three large octavo volumes; the second appeared in one quarto volume.

In May, 1842, Judson began work on a Burmese dictionary.

Mr. J. H. Chandler, a machinist, who was appointed in 1840, had charge of the printing and binding department, but he was transferred to the Siam mission in 1843. After his departure Mr. Osgood superintended the printing and binding establishment.

For a few years after the withdrawal of the missionaries from Burma proper, the urgency for printing at Maulmain was not so great as it had been, and the number of books and tracts distributed was comparatively small. The printing, in 1843, amounted to only forty-two thousand copies, and one hundred and forty-six thousand pages, though the issues were comparatively larger. The number of books and other tracts printed the following year was five thousand; the number issued was about twenty-seven thousand. Two thousand of the copies printed in 1844

were school books; the rest were of a religious character. The whole number of pages printed at the Maulmain station prior to July of this year was 60, 890, 000.'

Such is Clement's account of the press down to the year 1844. The following information is taken from the *Maulmain Almanac and Directory* for 1844:

MAULMAIN MISSION PRESS

Rev. S. M. Osgood In charge

J. De Rozario Printer

Five assistants, two pressmen, one binder, three assistants, one typecutter and founder, two assistants.

MAULMAIN CHRONICLE PRESS

George Richard Gordon Editor, Maulmain Chronicle

John De Pena Printer

Five assistants.

At Tavoy, Rev. Cephas Bennett was Pastor of the Burmese Church and Superintendent of the Printing Department.

PRINTING.—There are two Printing Establishments connected with the Missions; one at Maulmain and the other at Tavoy. In the Maulmain Establishment there are seven presses, and fonts of type for printing in Burmese, Peguan, and English. The Religious Herald in the Burmese language, and the Maulmain Almanac and Directory are issued from this establishment. It is, however, devoted almost exclusively to the publication of books in the native languages, for gratuitous distribution. About sixty-one millions of pages have been printed for gratuitous distribution, since the commencement of the Establishment. A foundry for type casting and the preparation of matrices is connected with the Establishment.

In the Tavoy Establishment there are two presses, and fonts of type for printing in Karen, Burmese and English; but it is chiefly devoted to books for gratuitous distribution in the Karen language, of which about two millions of pages were printed during the past year. A paper entitled the *Morning Star*, in Karen, is issued from that press.'

The following is a list of books printed at Moulmein before 1849 which are now in the British Museum:

- (1) *The New Testament in Burmese*. Translated by Adoniram Judson. pp. i. 619.

1832. 8°. [Dr. L. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Burmese books in the British Museum* (London, 1913) gives Rangoon as the place of publication, but it must have been Moulmein.]

—Second edition. pp. i. 652. 1837. 8°.

(2) *The Old Testament in Burmese*. [Translated by A. Judson.] 4°. Vol. 1. From Genesis to Ruth. 1835; vol. 2. From I. Samuel to Job. 1834; vol. 3. From Psalms to Malachi. 1835. The imprint on the titlepages is simply 'Maulmein'.

(3) *The Holy Bible*... translated... from the original tongues [by Felix Carey, Adoniram Judson and George H. Hough]... 2d edition. pp. 880. 318. 1840. 4°. The New Testament is of the third edition.

(4) Judson, Adoniram. *Grammatical notices of the Burmese language*. pp. 76. 1842. 8°.

(5) *The Maulmain Almanac and Directory*, and general commercial and trade list for 1844: with an appendix. First series. 3 pt. 8°. Printed at the Mission Press, 1844.

(6) Hough, George Henry. *An Anglo-Burmese Dictionary*. Part I. Consisting of monosyllables. (In continuation. part II. Dissyllables.) 1845. 8°. Pt. 1. pp. 147. Preface dated Nov. 1845; pt. 2. pp. 362; pt. 3. Three syllables. pp. 1-264, 253-299, 200-346.

There seems to be nothing missing, although the pages numbered 253-299 and 200-346 contain 'Polysyllables.' There must have been two miscalculations of pagination while this part was going through the press. The Rev. G. H. Hough is described as Superintendent of Government Schools, Tenasserim Provinces.

(7) *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, translated into Peguan from the original Greek [by J. M. Haswell]. pp. 576. American & Foreign Bible Society: Maulmain, 1847. 8°.

It is stressed that this is only a check-list of the most important books printed by the American Mission Press at Moulmein.

Finally, Clement has this to say about Mr. Judson's dictionary: 'The publication of the first part of the dictionary, was commenced in 1849, and the first two signatures were forwarded, as specimens of the work, to the mission rooms, accompanied by a note from Mr. Judson in which he says: "The work will make a quarto volume of about 600 pages. We are printing a small edition of 300 copies only. When the Burmese and English part is completed, and the first part revised, we shall probably issue a much larger edition of both parts, in two volumes, quarto." The printing of the English and Burmese dictionary was completed in January, 1851.'

But the Rev. Adoniram Judson had died on 12 April, 1850.

I cannot do better than reprint here a short article which I wrote some years ago as the result of my work in recataloguing some of the British Museum's collection of dictionaries.¹

In November 1855 the Museum purchased a Karen dictionary, consisting of a drop-head title and pp. 9-324 of text, but having no beginning and no end. The text ends abruptly in the letter 'k'. It was placed among the anonymous dictionaries, and catalogued as a work in progress, with the date of publication supplied as [1852?]. It has at last been possible to identify the author, to assign the book to a particular press, and to date it more accurately. The result shows that this incomplete dictionary was among the earliest products (if not the very first) of the American Baptist Mission at Tavoy, a port in Lower Burma. The author is revealed to have been the Reverend Jonathan Wade, an American missionary who was born in 1798.

American missionaries first arrived among the Karen tribes of Burma in 1828. It was apparently impracticable for them to set up a printing-press in the wild country of the Shan States, but they did so several hundred miles farther south, at Tavoy in the Tenasserim province. In 1846 the Rev. Cephas Bennett published there *An Anglo-Karen Vocabulary, Monosyllables. For the use of Karen schools*. But he was not the first pioneer to set the Karen language down on paper, for we are told that Karen was 'never written till Dr. Wade, the American missionary, reduced it to writing using the Burmese consonants. The Karens thus have no written literature.' Bennett himself tells us in the preface to his *Vocabulary* of 1846 that 'a more full and extended work, will, it is hoped, be given to the public by the author of the Karen Dictionary, when that work shall be completed,' but he does not mention Wade by name. However, in 1849 the same press at Tavoy published *A Vocabulary of the Sgau Karen Language*, bearing Wade's name on the title page and having a preface signed C. B. [i.e. Cephas Bennett] dated from Tavoy in May, 1849. In this it is explained that 'a Dictionary of the Karen Language was commenced by Mr. Wade, some years since, and in 1842, a revision and re-writing of the work was undertaken, and the printing commenced in a quarto form, but it was soon seen that his declin-

1. D. E. Rhodes, 'The First Karen Dictionary', *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XX, no. 3 (March, 1956), 58-9. See also D. M. Smeaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, London, Kegan Paul, 1887, p. 188 and p. 75.

ing health was not likely to permit him to finish a work of such magnitude for many years; and as a Vocabulary, at least, of the language, was very much needed by those who were preparing themselves for labor among the Karens, he was advised to relinquish his plan of the quarto volume, for a time, after 324 pages had been printed, and prepare a less elaborate work, which could sooner be placed in the hands of his fellow laborers, some of whom had not any thing of the kind, even in manuscript. The printing of the present work was commenced in 1846, but in consequence of Mr. Wade's poor health, it came from the press less rapidly than had been hoped, and in October, 1847, on account of impaired eye-sight, he was reluctantly compelled to relinquish the work, when he had arrived to the end of the letter O. From that letter to the close, the work has been prepared by Mrs. Bennett, from materials put into her hands by Mr. Wade, which were so ample, as to fully entitle him to the credit given him in the title-page.'

And later in the same preface: 'It is confidently hoped that the life of Mr. Wade will be spared, and his eye-sight recovered by his visit to America, and that it will hereafter be his privilege to prepare a Sgau Karen Dictionary.'

It seems clear that Wade's dictionary began to be printed in 1843 or 1844, that his ill health at the early age of forty-five compelled him to abandon it for ever, and that not only was the dictionary as we have it never completed, but the preliminary eight pages, including a title-page which would certainly have borne Wade's name, were never printed. His difficulties in compiling such a dictionary may be imagined when we realize that until then the Karen language (which has no affinity with Burmese but belongs to the Chinese family) had no written character. It is pleasant to recall that Dr. Wade's sick-leave in America was apparently most beneficial, for he returned to Burma and died in 1881 at the age of eighty-three.'

The following books are in the British Museum:

(1) *Karen Dictionary*. [By Jonathan Wade.] pp. 9-324. [Karen Baptist Mission Press: Tavoy, 1844?] 4°.

No more published.

(2) Bennett, Cephas. *An Anglo-Karen Vocabulary*. Monosyllables... For the use of Karen schools. pp. iv. 13-188. Karen Mission Press: Tavoy, 1846. 8°. The preface is dated: Tavoy, Nov. 1846.

(3) Sau Kau-Too. *Thesaurus of Karen knowledge*, comprising traditions, legends, or fables, poetry, customs, superstitions, demonology, therapeutics, etc. alphabe-

tically arranged, and forming a complete native Karen dictionary, with definitions and examples, illustrating the usages of every word. Written by Sau Kau-Too, and compiled by J. Wade. 4 vol. Tavoy: Karen Mission Press. C. BENNETT. Vol. 1. 1847; vol. 2. 1848; vol. 3. 1849; vol. 4. 1850. 8°.

(4) Wade, Jonathan. *A Vocabulary of the Sgau Karen language*. pp. vi. [vii, viii] [13] -1024. Karen Mission Press: Tavoy, 1849. 8°. C. BENNETT [printer]. The preface signed: C. B. Tavoy, May, 1849.

EARLY PRINTING IN THAILAND

The American Baptist Mission to Siam began work in March, 1833, when the Rev. John Taylor Jones, formerly of Rangoon, went with his wife to Bangkok. After learning the Siamese language (which was easier than most oriental languages) he translated the Gospel of St. Matthew in 1835 and prepared it for the press; then a catechism of the New Testament was also prepared. Mr. Jones had to go to Singapore to have these works printed at the press of the mission of the American Board which was established there. A large edition of each of these books was soon printed, and in the following June Mr. Jones returned to Bangkok.¹ In March 1836 he completed his translation of the Acts of the Apostles, and went back to Singapore to obtain founts of type both in Siamese and Chinese, in anticipation of the arrival of a press which had been promised from America. Another missionary and his wife, the Rev. and Mrs. Davenport, arrived in Siam and went to help with the preaching in Bangkok. Mr. Davenport, who was also a trained printer, brought a press, which was set up in 1836. Thereafter many books were printed under Mr. Davenport's direction, including tracts in both Siamese and Chinese.

Mrs. Jones died of cholera in March, 1838, after translating into Siamese two books of the Old Testament and preparing a dictionary of several thousand words. The arrangements for printing these new works, which had proved very defective on account of the imperfection of the types, were also completed in the summer of 1838 with the arrival of necessary material for a type foundry, which was obtained at Malacca by Mr. Jones from Mr. Dyer, an employee of the London Missionary Society. A second printing press was also added to the property of the Mission in December, 1838. Many new tracts and portions of the Scriptures were then printed,

1. William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions, etc.*, Boston, 1849, ch. XVI (pp. 187-208), 'Missions in Siam and China'.

and Mr. Jones finished translating the entire New Testament in 1839. It may be said that 1839 was the first year in which regular, successful printing in English and Siamese took place in Siam.

In 1843 Mr. Chandler, a machinist and typefounder connected with the mission at Maulmain in Burma, visited Bangkok. He was there attached for a time to the printing department.

Gammell wrote in 1849:

'In the mission at Bangkok, after the close of the war in China, all preaching in the Siamese department was for a time suspended in consequence of the absence of Mr. Jones. He returned to the station in January, 1847, accompanied by Mrs. Jones [i.e. his second wife] and Miss Harriet H. Morse, the latter lady being appointed to teach in the Siamese schools. The presses have been generally kept in operation under the direction of Messrs. Jones and Chandler, and have furnished multitudes of books and tracts in Siamese, Peguan and Chinese, for both departments of the mission.'

The following books are in the British Museum:

(1) [*The New Testament in Siamese*, revised by John Taylor Jones.] 9 pts. Mission Press: Bangkok, 1839-42. 8°. Containing Matthew to Ephesians only. Matthew and the Acts are of the second edition, printed in 5,000 copies. The number of copies printed of the various parts of the first edition was sometimes 2,000 and sometimes 3,000.

(2) —Second edition. pp. viii.ii. 591. Printed at the Union Press: Bangkok, 1850. 8°. 1,000 copies.

(3) *Collection of words and phrases in English and Siamese*, for the use of schools. By Mrs. Davenport. pp. 271. 1840. 12°. Although there is no imprint, and this book is entered without imprint in the General Catalogue of the British Museum, it can be confidently ascribed to the press of the American Baptist Mission in Bangkok. The Rev. and Mrs. Davenport (whose Christian names are apparently unknown) arrived at Singapore from America in 1836, with Rev. Reed, Rev. Shuck and their wives. The Davenports soon accompanied Mr. Jones to Bangkok, where Mr. Davenport acted as printer and preacher. The Davenports returned to the U. S. A. in 1845 and ceased to be missionaries.

(4) *The Four Gospels and Acts translated into Siamese* by John Taylor Jones...

Second complete edition. pp. 333. American & Foreign Bible Society: Bangkok, 1849. 8°.

(5) —Third, complete, edition. pp. 382. Same press, 1858.

The Catholics did not establish a press in Bangkok until 1849, of which the following seems to be the earliest extant production: Rao Dong Juang Baptista. [Pastoral letter in Annamese.] (Colophon:) Nangsu ma te Samnak khong rao na: bangkok ran 10 martio, Sakkarat P. christo chao 1849. [Bangkok, Typographia Collegii Assumptionis B.M.V. March 10th, 1849.] 8°. Four leaves.¹

1. Birrell & Garnett, Catalogue XXXVIII, no. 92.

AMSTERDAM: VANGENDT & CO

LONDON: ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL (SBN 7100-6474-8)

NEW YORK: ABNER SCHRAM (SBN 8390-0022-7)